

**THE ASWAQ IN JEDDAH:
AN ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION OF THEIR
ROLE IN SAUDI ARABIAN SOCIETY**

KHALID MOHAMMED AL-BURAG

**Ph.D. THESIS
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH**

JUNE 1995



**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,
MOST GRACIOUS,
MOST MERCIFUL**

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has been composed solely by myself.

Khalid Mohammed Al-Burag

ABSTRACT

The Thesis aims to give a better understanding of the role of the traditional *aswaq* (n. pl. of *suq* = marketplace) in Saudi Arabian society. It uses the traditional *aswaq* in Jeddah as a case study, to examine social, cultural and economic factors, and demonstrate how these are combined, integrated and reflected in the physical layout. The investigation is based on historical evidence, and on the evidence provided by interviews with traditional merchants, craftsmen and heads of the traditional guilds people with first hand experience of the various aspects of the traditional *aswaq*. It is further supplemented by observing the physical traces and the environmental behaviour of these *aswaq*.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters as follows:

Chapter One provides an overview of *aswaq* , as a historical phenomena and a regular feature of the Islamic city. It studies the nature of the early *aswaq*, and their primary functions; how they emerged and developed in general; how they are ordered and regulated their layout with specialised areas within the *suq*, and so forth.

Chapter Two describes early trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula and the reasons for them. Also, their consequences for this area. It concentrates on trade routes which passed through the Hejaz region, where the city of Jeddah is located, and their role in the commercial prosperity of the city and its traditional *aswaq* in particular.

Chapter Three analyses the religious and social context of commercial activities in traditional Islamic society. It describes the basic principles of the Islamic economy, and the *shari`ah* codes governing commercial transactions. Then it shows how the political influence, lifestyle, norms and habits, have shaped commercial activities.

Chapter Four focuses on the general aspects of the *suq*'s internal and external organisations, then deals with each of these in more detail, completing the picture of the basic socio-cultural functions and features of *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah. It provides a better understanding of the whole notion of *suq* as a major element in the traditional city and an active centre of trade and craftsmanship. Also, it explains the process of social transformation and changes in the city of Jeddah and their consequences on Saudi society.

Chapter Five explains the methodological framework of the field work which was carried out in the city of Jeddah; its methods, procedure and techniques, and information about the interviewed informants.

Chapter Six describes and analyses the physical layout of *aswaq*.

Chapter Seven discusses the layout of traditionally operating *aswaq*; summarising what was learned from them and the transformation of the traditional guild system into the Chamber of Commerce. It also provides suggestions and possible further studies of commercial areas in such society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, praise and thanks be to God the Almighty that the achievement of this work has been made possible.

This work developed and has been completed with the support of many people to whom I indebted great thanks and appreciation. This thesis was supervised, firstly, by Professor C B Wilson, who died in Jan. 1995 before its completion, with a great interest and enthusiasm. I would like to thank him for his remarks and criticisms which have been very educational and enabled me to strengthen my argument. Secondly, by Mr. Seamus Filor, who took over the supervision of this thesis. I wish to express my deep appreciation and thanks to him. His criticisms, advice and friendly discussions have been very encouraging by which I managed to maintain the momentum of the thesis.

I would like to extend my appreciation to the Department of Architecture of Edinburgh University, specially Mr. Andrew Gilmour and Dr. Ian Boyd Whyte who took care of students supervised by Professor Wilson. Also, I would like to thank other members of staff of the department, librarians, secretaries and technicians for their help during my study in the department.

I am indebted to *mu'allamin* and *shayuakh* of traditional guilds of trades and crafts in Jeddah who gave me their time, effort and valuable experiences. I would like to express my deep thanks and appreciation to *Shaykh* Salam Baqyis (grain merchant), *Shaykh* Ali Azuz (who was *shaykh* of the goldsmith guild), *Shaykh* Hamid Atyih (who was *shaykh* of *al-Najaryin* ; carpenter guild), *Mu'allam* Matuq Abdulaty (who was *mu'allam bana* ; builder), *Shaykh* Ali Sayd Ashur (who is *shaykh Al - dalalyin*; head of the brokerage guild), *Shaykh* Bakrr Mohammed Bakrr (who is *shaykh Al - tabakhyin* , pl. of *Tabakh* = cook), and Abdulqadyr Al - basha (who is a merchant trading in tents and parties supply). I would also like to acknowledge Mr. Hasan Nasyr; the manger of department of training and research in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Jeddah, and Abdulrahman Nasyf; a resident of the old area of Jeddah where *aswaq* were located.

I extend my deep thanks and appreciation to my colleagues and friends at University of Edinburgh; Dr. Hisham Jom`ah, Dr. Ali Ataw, Abdulrahman Al-Angari,

Dr. Ahmed Khalil, Abdullah Al-Husyn, Khairy Abdeen, Ahmed Al-Jylany, Dr. Hisham Mortada, Dr. Omar Bahmam, Hani Juahrah, Dr. Aly Jabr, Dr. Mohammed Rafat, and Mohoti Bandara who enriched this research through their highly intellectual discussions.

I would also like to express appreciation to those who helped during my field study in Jeddah. First, my teachers and colleagues in the department of Islamic Architecture. Second, the Municipality of Jeddah; Dr. Khalid Abdulaghani (the mayor of Jeddah), Mr. Fouad Salim (the manager of Al-balad municipal branch), Eng. Danish, Architect Sami Nouar, Mr. Abdulaziz Al-Dahlawi and Al-Juhani. Third, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Jeddah. Fourth, the historian Dr. Mubark Al-Muabdy who provided me some historical documents of the commercial activities of Jeddah in the late 19th century.

This research was also supported by many friends who I met during my stay in Edinburgh; Dr. Abdullah Al-Saud, Dr. Mansur Al-Jadid, Sa`ad Al-Jabry, Khalid Al-Swedan, Sameer Nagadi and many friends. I highly respect their advice, and give many thanks to them for their encouragement.

I would like also to express appreciation to University of Umm Al-Qura in Makkah Al-Makramah, who awarded me a scholarship to do this research. Also, I would like to express my deep thanks to the Saudi Arabian Educational Attaché in London for their support and encouragement during my study.

My deep gratitude to my parents, my brother and my sisters who gave me all the support I needed, I am very grateful to them for their suffering during my stay away from them.

To my wife and my daughter Al-Anwar who shared every moment and suffered a lot, and patiently supported me during my study, my most sincere appreciation goes to them.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents who emotionally supported me since my childhood till their family extended to many families; brothers and sisters.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES	xii
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	
THE NATURE OF THE <i>SUQ</i>	6
1.1 The Birth of <i>Aswaq</i>	7
1.2 - <i>Aswaq</i> as Centres for Commercial and Cultural Exchange	9
1.3 - Historical Development of the <i>Aswaq</i>	10
1.4 - Commercial Organisation and the development of guilds	11
1.5-The Elements of the <i>Suq'</i>	19
1.6- Mosque- <i>Suq</i> -City Tripartite Relationships	21
1.7 The role of the <i>muΩtasib</i> in the <i>suq</i> layout	23
Conclusion :	27
CHAPTER TWO :	
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF <i>ASWAQ</i> IN JEDDAH	28
2.1 Jeddah and trade routes:	28
2.2 Commercial history of Jeddah:	32
Conclusion	36

CHAPTER THREE:

**THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SYSTEM REGULATING
COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES 37**

3.1 The Socio-Cultural: 38

3.1.1 The Religious Context: 38

Principles of Islamic Economics 38

Shari`ah Codes of Transactions. 42

The conditions of manoeuvring in Islamic commercial
transactions: 42

3.1.2 Social Context 58

Political Influence: 58

Lifestyle 59

Norms and Habits: 62

3.2 Retailing Activity 70

Conclusion 74

CHAPTER FOUR :

ORGANISATION OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES..... 75

4.1. Literature review of the internal organisation of the
traditional *aswaq* : 76

4. 2 Internal organisation in the city of Jeddah : 98

4. 3 External organisation : 120

4.4 Societal transition of 1970's 122

Conclusion 126

CHAPTER FIVE.....

THE INTERPRETATION METHODS 127

5.1 Interpreting Methodology 128

5.3 Goals and objectives of the field work..... 132

5.3 Procedure and techniques: 134

5.4 Informants : 137

CHAPTER SIX :	
LAYOUT OF THE <i>SUQ</i>	140
6.1 <i>Aswaq</i> - City Relationship:	140
6.2 <i>Suq</i> - Mosque Relationship	144
6. 3 <i>Suq</i> 's Trades and Crafts relationship	145
6. 4 The Layout of Jeddah <i>Aswaq</i>	148
6.5 <i>Aswaq</i> Elements	155
Conclusion	165
CHAPTER SEVEN :	
FINAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	166
7.1 The Persistence of the Traditional <i>Aswaq</i> :	166
8.1 Reasons for Disintegration of Guilds:	172
7.3 Lessons from the traditional <i>aswaq</i> :	176
7.4 Further Studies	178
APPENDIX A :	
JEDDAH URBAN TRANSFORMATION	181
APPENDIX B :	
INTERVIEW CHECKLISTS	185
APPENDIX C :	
IMAGES FROM THE TRADITIONAL <i>ASWAQ</i>	195
ARABIC GLOSSARY	201
BIBLIOGRAPHY	209

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. 1 Crossing of trade routes	
Fig. 1. 2 Trade caravans	8
Fig. 1. 3 Arabian trading routes through Europe and Asia from the 8th to the early 12th century.....	9
Fig. 1. 4 Accommodation for travelling merchants.with animal sheds	9
Fig. 1. 5 Model of the Islamic City.	10
Fig. 1.6 Exchange of crafts and industrial techniques	10
Fig. 1. 7 Congregation of the commercial stations	12
Fig. 1. 8 External organisation of commercial activities.	13
Fig. 1. 9 The internal organisation of the <i>suq</i>	18
Fig. 1.10 Elements of <i>suq</i>	20
Fig. 1. 11 Public thoroughfare	21
Fig. 1. 12 Khan Dulfigar	21
Fig. 1. 13 Elimination of harmful activities from the mosque.	22
Fig 1. 14 The traditional distribution of major trades and products in Zaytuna Mosque and the surrounding <i>Suq</i>	25
Fig. 1. 15 Sana ' <i>suq</i>	25
Fig. 1. 16 Istanbul <i>Suq</i>	26
Fig. 1. 17 Aleppo <i>Suq</i>	27
Fig 2. 1 Trade routes in the middle ages	29
Fig.2.2 Annual <i>Aswaq</i> in the Arabian Peninsula and their chronological sequence	30
Fig. 2. 3 The first trade route - from China and India through Persian Gulf to the Arabian Peninsula, Middle of Asia and Mediterranean Countries	31
Fig. 2. 4 The second trade route - from China and India by the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea to Fertile Crescent and Egypt then to the Mediterranean countries-	31
Fig. 3. 1 Bargaining Model.	72
Fig. 4. 1 The hierarchical structure of the guild.....	78
Fig. 4. 2 The hierarchical structure of the guild by Celebi.	79
Fig. 4. 3 The hierarchical structure of the guild by Qoudsi.	80
Fig. 4.4 A diagram summarizing the trade process of the different activities in <i>suq</i>	115
Fig. 4.5 <i>Suq'</i> participants	117
Fig. 4. 6 The hierarchical structure of the <i>ta'yfah</i>	119
Fig. 4.7 Stages of social transformation.....	123

Fig. 4.8 The unity of the traditional Saudi Society lost to become a group of independent elements in the modern society.	125
Fig. 5.1 Annotated diagram for physical traces of the traditional <i>aswaq</i>	130
Fig. 5.2 Behavioural observation of the traditional <i>aswaq</i>	131
Fig 6. 1 A plan of Old Jeddah by Nallino,.	140
Fig. 6. 2 Inter crossed Axes	141
Fig. 6.3 Bab Makkah.	141
Fig. 6. 4 Bab Al-Bunt.....	142
Fig 6. 5 Bab Al-Madinah	142
Fig. 6. 6 Jeddah harat	143
Fig. 6. 7 Jeddah's <i>Jami</i> mosques	144
Fig. 6. 8 Ukash mosque and adjacent trades	145
Fig. 6. 9 Shafiy mosque and adjacent trades.....	145
Fig. 6. 10 Dependence of trades and crafts on each other.	145
Fig. 6. 11 Khratin Street and its <i>aswaq</i>	148
Fig. 6.12 <i>Suq</i> Al-Nada	149
Fig. 6.13 <i>Suq</i> Al-Khaskiyah.....	149
Fig. 6.14 West-East axis and its <i>aswaq</i>	150
Fig. 6.15 <i>Suq</i> Al-Jami	151
Fig. 6.16 <i>Suq</i> Al- Nuriyah	151
Fig. 6.17 <i>Suq</i> Al- Alawi	152
Fig. 6.18 <i>Suq</i> Al-Badu	152
Fig. 6.19 <i>Suq</i> Qabel	152
Fig. 6.20 <i>Aswaq</i> that causes offence to mosques and neighbours.....	153
Fig. 6.21 <i>Aswaq</i> layout.....	154
Fig. 6.22 <i>Dakkan</i> product display	155
Fig. 6.23 Sketch diagram for a typical <i>dakkan</i>	156
Fig. 6.24 <i>Dakakin</i> layout in <i>aswaq</i>	157
Fig. 6.25 Shoe making <i>warrshah</i>	158
Fig. . 6.26 Covered streets and alleys of <i>aswaq</i>	159
Fig. 6. 27 Uncovered streets and alleys of <i>aswaq</i>	159
Fig. 6.28 Khan in Jeddah.	161
Fig. 6.29 <i>Hush'</i>	162
Fig. 6.30 <i>Qahuah</i>	163
Fig. 6.30 Restaurant's lane.	164
Fig. 7.1 Traditionally operating <i>aswaq</i>	167
Fig. 7. 2 <i>Suq</i> Al- Badu.....	169

Fig 7.3 <i>Suq</i> Al- Nada.....	170
Fig. 7. 4 <i>Suq</i> Al- Jam`i	170
Fig. 7. 5 <i>Suq</i> Al- Alawi	171
Fig. 7. 6 <i>Suq</i> Al- Nuriyah	171
Fig. 7. 7 <i>Suq</i> Al- Khaskiyah	172
Fig. 7. 8 <i>Suq</i> Qabel	172
Fig. 7.9 The Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Jeddah	174
Fig 7.10 The integration of the traditional built environment conformed to the traditional society	177

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Arabic Letter	Transliteration	Short Vowels
ا	b	َ a
ب	t	ُ u
ت	th	ِ i
ث	j	
ج	h	
ح	kh	
خ	d	
د	dh	
ذ	r	
ر	z	Long Vowels
ز	s	إ ā
س	sh	أ ū
ش	ṣ	ي ī
ص	ḍ	
ض	ṭ	
ط	ḍ̣	
ظ	gh	
ف	f	
ق	q	
ك	k	
ل	l	
م	m	Diphthongs
ن	n	أو aw
و	w	اي ay
ه	h	يي iyy
ة	t	وو ww
ي	y	

The system of transliteration from Arabic is adopted from Bulletin 49 (November 1958) issued by cataloguing service of the Library of Congress.

References and Quotations

The system of references and quotations used here within the text is Harvard System (Author's name, date, page). For example, (Pesce, 1977, p 12). In regard to Quranic verses, the chapter number comes first then the number of verse, e.g. (4:12). Ahadith (reference, *hadith* number); e.g (Al-Bukhari, 3.225). They are copied from the database of Al-Quran and Al-Hadith Databases, developed by Harwell Laboratories, Oxford.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Saudi Arabia is one of the developing countries that has passed through a substantial transition in all aspects of life over the past five decades. This has been mainly to fulfil the needs for the development of the country to cope with the urbanisation which was motivated by the oil boom of the 1970's.

Within the planning scheme, the government established five year development plans, which were concerned with the basic needs of urban life-naturally, one of these needs was the upgrading of the built environment. Consequently, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs was established to plan and control the pattern and growth of Saudi Arabian cities.

Throughout these development plans, many architectural trends have been introduced by foreign experts (companies and labour), and all were involved in the urbanisation process, to accomplish the development plan strategies. Later on, they left their architectural imprints on the image of the built environment, with results alien in character to the Saudi Arabian cities.

The diversity of this architectural vocabulary has produced a mixture of styles which has had an impact on the social and traditional customs of Saudi Arabian society. This social change can be categorised into two groups: New social patterns have been introduced due to the imported western lifestyle; and the original traditional way has changed considerably . Examples of the first group are office buildings, recreational centres and so on, while those of the second group are the residential, shopping centres and educational institutions

The *suq* (n. sing. of *aswaq*) was the traditional equivalent of the contemporary shopping centre. It served as a functional and social gathering place which reflected and gained from the tradition itself. Today, shopping centres are a vital factor affecting the social values of Saudi Arabian society. These do not reflect the specific culture of Saudi society but rather are international shopping centres having no relation to the local context; they could be found anywhere, as in the UK, USA or Australia.

In order to have a better understanding of the contemporary situation of commercial activity in Jeddah, it is necessary to gain a clear view of the nature of the

traditional *aswaq* . This requires *aswaq* to be perceived as a whole system whose meanings are understood through their forms and functions, as a combination of social, economic, cultural and physical layout which is identified by their social organisations, retailing and distribution process, and their constitutions.

The Main Argument:

This thesis approaches from the perspective of understanding the socio-cultural aspect of the built environment which is considered to be among the motivations which made and formed the built environment. The values and norms, beliefs and customs of a particular culture produced a system of customary laws, rules, behavioural pattern, common social guidelines and habits. All these create a lifestyle, guiding behaviour, manners and built form. (Rapoport, A., 1977, p.14).

This aspect has been misunderstood by professionals who based their understanding of that particular society on their own cultural background, and the lack of understanding of decision making processes by those involved in shaping the built environment. The misunderstanding, misinterpretation and ignorance of the socio-cultural aspect of the society in relation to the built environment in the planning and design of contemporary commercial centres is considered a major problem. R.E. Pahi referred to H.J. Gans, in his account " who's city ? ", that planning must be user-oriented - it is for people , not for planners. (Stewart, 1972, p.87). So, it is necessary that the socio-cultural aspect need to be investigated and studied in relation to the built environment.

This thesis supports this argument and elaborates it in association with shopping activities and how these are reflected in the traditional *aswaq*. It is also suggested that when a society changes or interferes in its original values and norms due to influences from other cultures, this will be reflected in the built environment and will change it accordingly.

This thesis will concentrate on the city of Jeddah to examine this argument and hypothesis, because traditional *aswaq* still there survive and are used as a part of their daily shopping by the citizens.

Thesis Hypothesis :

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that the traditional *aswaq* reflected local, regional or national socio-cultural aspects through their physical layout which

represented the pattern of relationships of these values and norms within the society. Once these values and norms were changed or combined with other culture's values, the physical layout of the commercial centres will be changed and replaced by others which reflect these new values. From the 1970's Saudi society was exposed to different values and norms which were alien to their original one. This, in turn, started to be reflected in the pattern of the commercial centres and the introduction of modern shopping centres. As these centres belong to another culture and way of life, it is clear that Saudi society will change to reflect aspects of these cultures.

In this respect, the relationship between *suq*-city, *suq*-mosque, and *suq*-different trades and crafts will be examined in more detail, in the belief that these relationships continue to reflect many values and norms which are related to socio-cultural aspects of the traditional Islamic society.

The Aim of the Study :

This study is an attempt to support the main argument presented here, that the traditional *aswaq* were reflections of socio-cultural aspects. Based on this, the main goal of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the traditional *aswaq* in Jeddah in relevance to Saudi Arabian society.

In order to achieve this goal certain objectives have been set for this research :

- To investigate the nature of traditional *aswaq* in order to provide a rational basis for the study of the traditional *aswaq* in Jeddah.
- To understand how the traditional *aswaq* emerged and developed.
- To clarify the basic Islamic economic principles and *shari`ah* codes of legal transactions, and how they governed commercial activities; retailing and distribution.
- To clarify how socio-cultural values and norms are reflected in politics, lifestyle, norms and habits of the traditional society.
- To clarify the social organisations of the traditional *aswaq*; guild formation and how the different guilds operated and supervised the traditional *aswaq*.

- To investigate and analyse the persistence of the traditional *aswaq* , and their physical layout, and relate this to the socio-cultural values and norms of Saudi Arabian society.
- To study the process of societal changes, and their consequences in contemporary Saudi Arabian society.
- To analyse the transformation of the guild system into Chambres of Commerce and Industry, and the reasons behind this.

The findings from this research lead to a broad view and understanding of the traditional *aswaq* . It includes details of all aspects: social, cultural, economic, political and physical, which have shaped and formed their physical layout. Such an understanding of the traditional *aswaq* might be important research to help produce culturally representative commercial areas for today's Saudi Arabian society.

The Organisation of the Study

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. It uses the traditional *aswaq* in Jeddah as a case study, to examine social and cultural, economic factors and demonstrate how they are combined, integrated and reflected in the physical layout. The investigation is based on historical evidence, and on the evidence provided by interviews with traditional merchants, craftsmen and heads of the traditional guilds who have first hand experience of the various aspects of the traditional *aswaq*, supplemented by observing the physical traces and the environmental behaviour of these *aswaq*.

Chapter One provides an overview of *aswaq* , as historical phenomena and a regular feature of the Islamic city. It studies the nature of the early *aswaq*, and their primary functions; how they emerged and developed in general; how they are ordered and regulated, specialised areas within the *suaq*, their layout, and so forth.

Chapter Two describes early trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula and the reasons for them. Also, their consequences for this area. It concentrates on trade routes which passed through the Hejaz region, where the city of Jeddah is located, and their role in the commercial prosperity of the city and its traditional *aswaq* in particular.

Chapter Three analyses the religious and social context of commercial activities in traditional Islamic society. It describes the basic principles of the Islamic economy,

and the *shari`ah* codes governing commercial transactions. Then it shows how the political influence, lifestyle, norms and habits, have shaped commercial activities.

Chapter Four focuses on the general aspects of the *suq*'s internal and external organisations, then deals with each of these in more detail, completing the picture of the basic socio-cultural functions and features of *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah. It provides a better understanding of the whole notion of *suq* as a major element in the traditional city and an active centre of trade and craftsmanship. Also, it explains the process of social transformation and changes in the city of Jeddah and their consequences on Saudi society.

Chapter Five explains the methodological framework of the field work which was carried out in the city of Jeddah; its methods, procedure and techniques, and information about the interviewed informants. Chapter Six describes and analyses the physical layout of *aswaq*.

Chapter Seven discusses the layout of traditionally operating *aswaq*; summarising what was learned from them and the transformation of the traditional guild system into the Chamber of Commerce. It also provides suggestions and possible further studies for commercial areas in such a society.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE OF THE SUQ

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATURE OF THE *SUQ*

Historically speaking, Islam arose primarily in a mercantile, and not a nomadic or agricultural milieu - although many early adherents to the faith came from the Bedouin tribes of Arabia. Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) himself earned his livelihood as a commercial representative of the city of Makkah in the sixth century AD¹. These early commercial activities carried on an intense caravan trade, and organised small industries in the region from Southern Palestine to Southwest Arabia, with branches established as far away as West Africa and East Asia . (Hayes, 1975, p. 195).

*Aswaq*² have always been a major element of Islamic cities, indeed forming their heart. They have existed for several centuries and they still survive. The old Arab, Persian, and Turkish *aswaq* in their current condition, make it mandatory that *aswaq* should be studied on their own account.

This chapter provides an overview of *aswaq* , not only as a historical phenomenon but also a particular phenomenon of the Islamic city. I will study the nature of the early *aswaq*, and their primary functions; briefly describe how they emerged and developed in general; attempt to throw some light on the practical relationships of people in the *suq* - how *aswaq* are ordered and regulated specialised areas within the *suq*, the lay-out concept of the *suq* , and so forth.

¹ Caliphates Abu Bakr and (632 - 635) `Uthman (644 - 656) were cloth merchants, and Caliphate `Omar (635 - 644) hired out camels and donkeys.

² The term "*suq* " (n.pl. *aswaq*) in Arabic can be applied to a market centre as a whole or to a specialised market place like *Suq al-dhab* (the gold market), or for a market day as in *suq alkhamis* (the Thursday market), and so on. Derivatives of the term *suq* are *tasweeq* (marketing) *tasawoq* (shopping), etc In some countries, however, non-Arabic terms were used to refer to the market place like the Persian *chahar-suq* or *chahar-su*, referring to the major intersections within the covered network of market streets; and the Turkish *carsi*, that refers to the whole market complex. (Michell, 1987, p.99. & Greetz, and Rosen, 1979. p25)

1.1 The Birth of Aswaq

Aswaq began to emerge and develop as temporary or permanent commercial centres at the crossing of trade routes from the seventh century (fig. 1. 1& 1. 2). The holy Qurân - *sûra* 106, second verse- refers to the *Quraish* - the tribe of Prophet Mohammed, living in Hejaz region especially in the area of Makkah- who made trade journeys to the warmth of Yemen in the winter and the cooler regions of Syria and the north in the summer.³ Caravans from the south and east of Arabia met those from the north and west at good locations (mostly where an abundance of water and shade were available). Goods and services were exchanged, while camels and travellers rested.

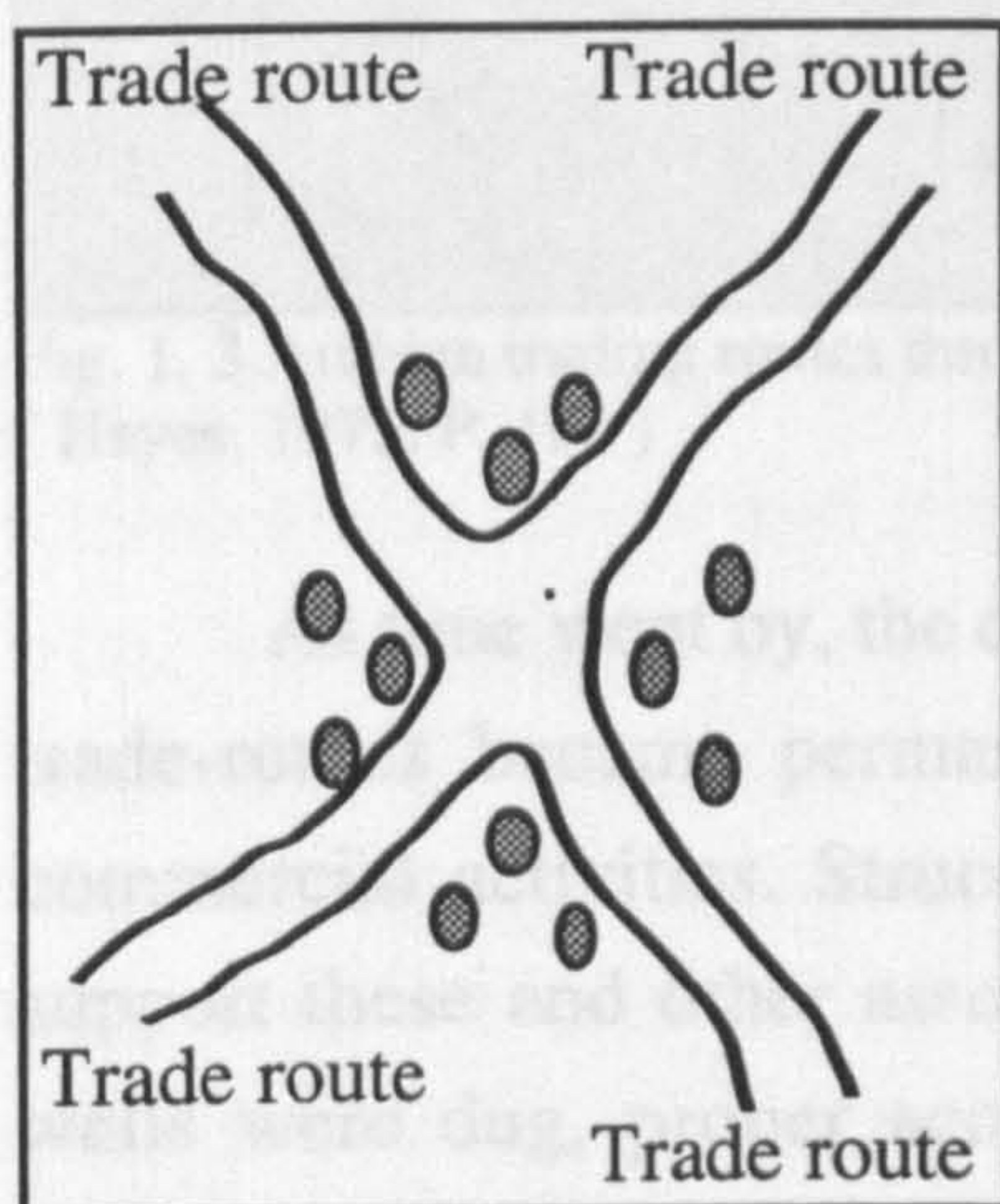


Fig. 1. 1 Crossing of trade routes



Fig. 1. 2 Trade caravans

These ancient trading routes also led to and from the centres of the Mesopotamian, Phoenician-Palestinian, Egyptian, Indus Valley, and Yellow River civilisations. By the end of the eight century BC., the Arab traders had developed routes from Mesopotamia to India, Madagascar, Ceylon, Indonesia, and China (Fig. 1. 3). Abu `Uthman bin Bahr of Basra, (surnamed *al-Jahiz*) who died in 869 wrote a list of imports from various parts of the world to Iraq⁴ in the mid-ninth-century. (Cited in Hayes, 1975, p. 197).

³- The *Quraish* became practised travellers and merchants, acquired much knowledge of the world and perfected their language as a polished medium of literary expression.(Mushaf Al-Madinah An-Nabawiyah, Translated by King Fahd Holy Qurân Printing Complex, Al-Madinah, 1990, p.2015)

⁴ His list included merchandise coming from : **India**: tigers, panthers, elephants, panthers skins, rubies, ebony, coconuts; **China**: silk and silk stuffs, chinaware, paper, ink, peacocks, saddles, cinnamon, drugs, utensils of gold and silver, gold coins as well as professionals like, engineers, agronomists, marble workers. **Arabia**: horses, pedigree camels, tanned skins; **Yemen**: incense, giraffes, gems, curcuma (used as a dye, condiment, and medicine); **Egypt**: donkeys, suits of fine cloth, papyrus, balsam, "excellent" topazes; **The land of Khazars**: slaves, coats of mail, hamlets, neck guards; **The land of Chorasmia** (Khwarizm): musk, ermine, marten, fox and other furs, sugarcane; **Samarkand**: paper; **Bactria** (Balkh): sweet grapes; **Merve**: zithers, zither players, carpets, suits; **Isfahan**: honey,

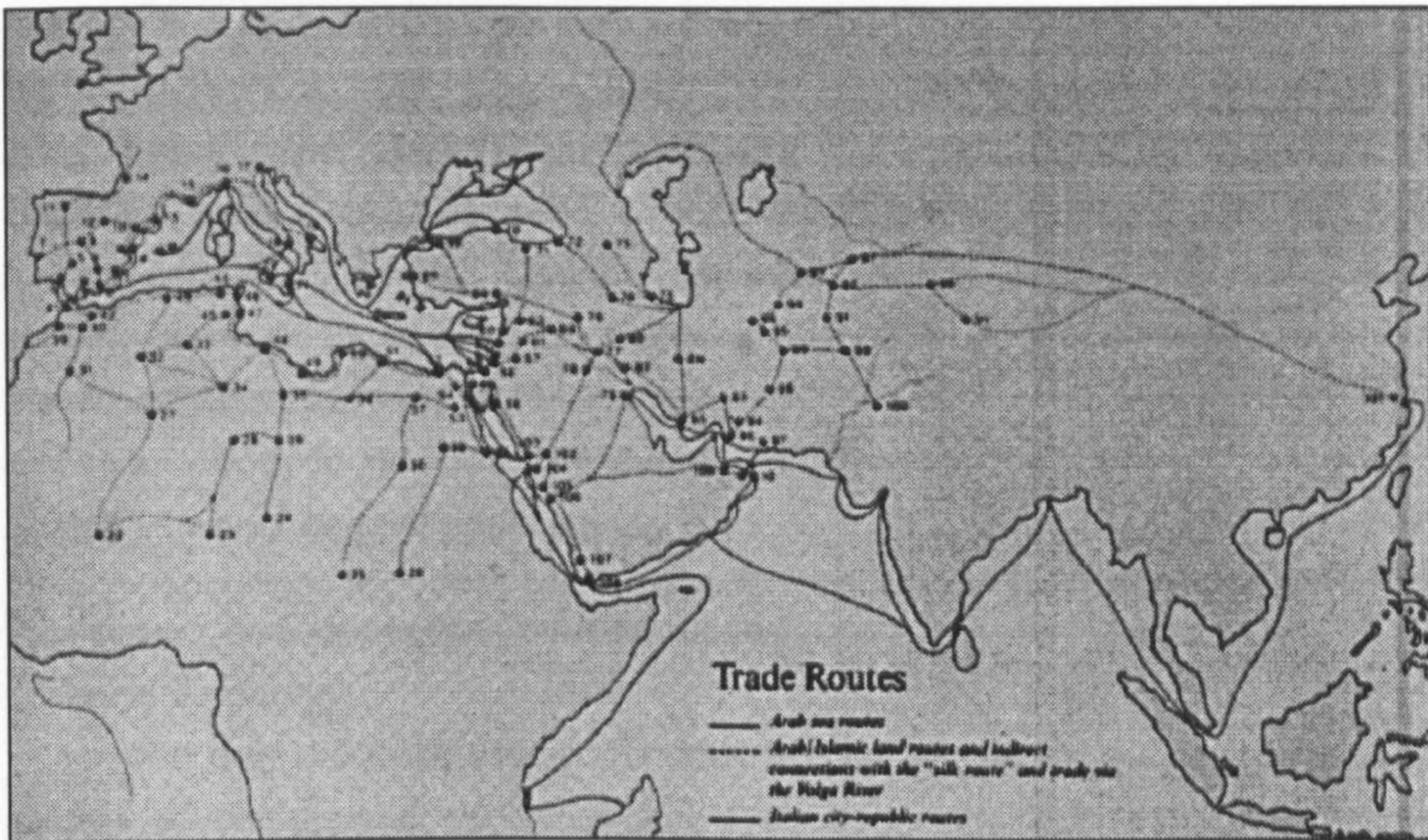


Fig. 1. 3 Arabian trading routes through Europe and Asia from the 8th to the early 12th century. (Hayes, 1975, P. 194)

As time went by, the crossings of these trade-routes became permanent centres for commercial activities. Structures went up to support these and other associated activities: wells were dug, proper accommodation for travelling merchants was built, along with animal sheds and stores for goods (Fig. 1. 4). Mosques were amongst the first structures to appear in these centres, mainly in the most active locations.

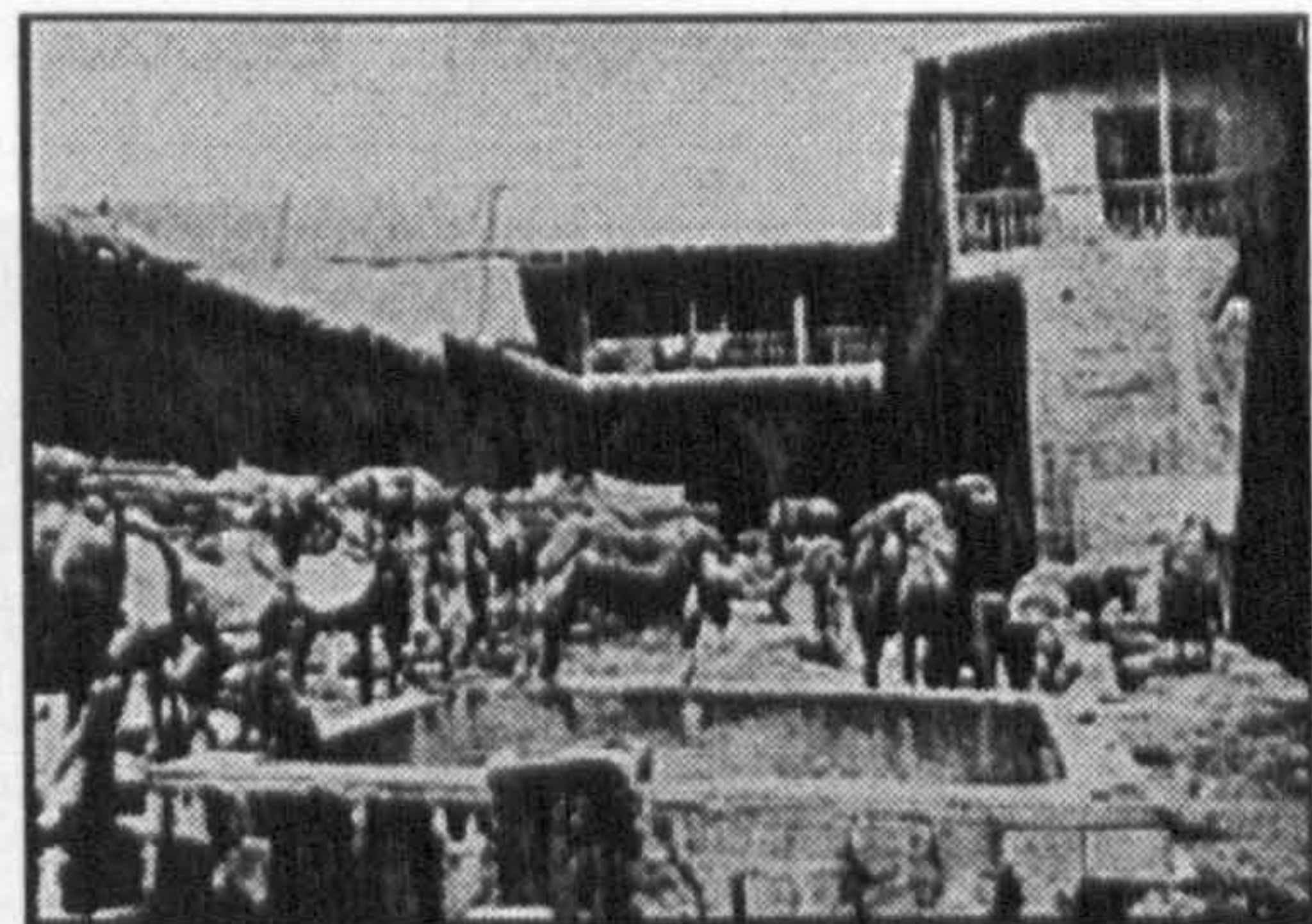


Fig. 1. 4 Accommodation for travelling merchants with animal sheds (Lewis, 1976, p 25).

Cities then developed and flourished around these commercial centres and grew to the extent of engulfing the *aswaq* that started their existence (fig. 1. 5). There are many arguments⁵ for the emergence of these cities; however I believe that many

pears, quinces, apples, salt, soda, saffron, syrups, white lead; **Kirman**: indigo, cumin; **Fars (now Iran)**: linen suits, rose water, jasmine ointment, syrups; **Oman and the seacoast**: pearls **Mosul**: quil, curtains, striped material; **Armenia and Azerbaijan**: felts, carpets, fine mats, wool, packsaddles.

⁵ These arguments are that the emergence of the Muslim cities could be one of the following : I- The Friday prayer can be performed only in a permanently inhabited settlement with 40 adult people. Urban living is, thus, an ideal to which Muslims should try. II- For military needs as fortress. III- Muslim rulers have a tendency to establish new capitals for themselves. (J. M. Wagstaff, "The Origin and Evolution of Towns", *The Changing Middle Eastern City*, edited by G. H. Blakes and R. L. Lawless, London, 1980).

Islamic cities are located on the trade routes as we see in (fig. 1. 3) - for example, Basra (635 AD), Kufah (639 AD), Fustat (641 AD), Baghdad, Samarra and Kairouan (670 AD), Jeddah (646 AD). Therefore, Chapter Two will provide more detail of how the trade route played an important role in the existence of cities and *asawq* in particular like the case of Jeddah , the case study of this research.

1.2 - *Aswaq* as Centres for Commercial and Cultural Exchange

Not only did these *aswaq* function as centres of commercial exchange and craft production , they also became nodes for the exchange of culture and knowledge. The *suq* was the major arena of communal, religious and administrative life as well as of commerce . It was the hub of social interaction and exchange among people of diverse creeds and classes. From the various places of the world, merchants, poets, scientists and craftsmen arrived. They brought with them their techniques of industries and crafts, norms for commerce, new values,

behavioural patterns, literature. *Aswaq* were then established as institutions of trade, knowledge and culture. The result was the introduction of crafts, materials and techniques⁶ to areas where people were unfamiliar with them - as in the case of Arabia. (Lapidus, 1973, pp. 51-72).

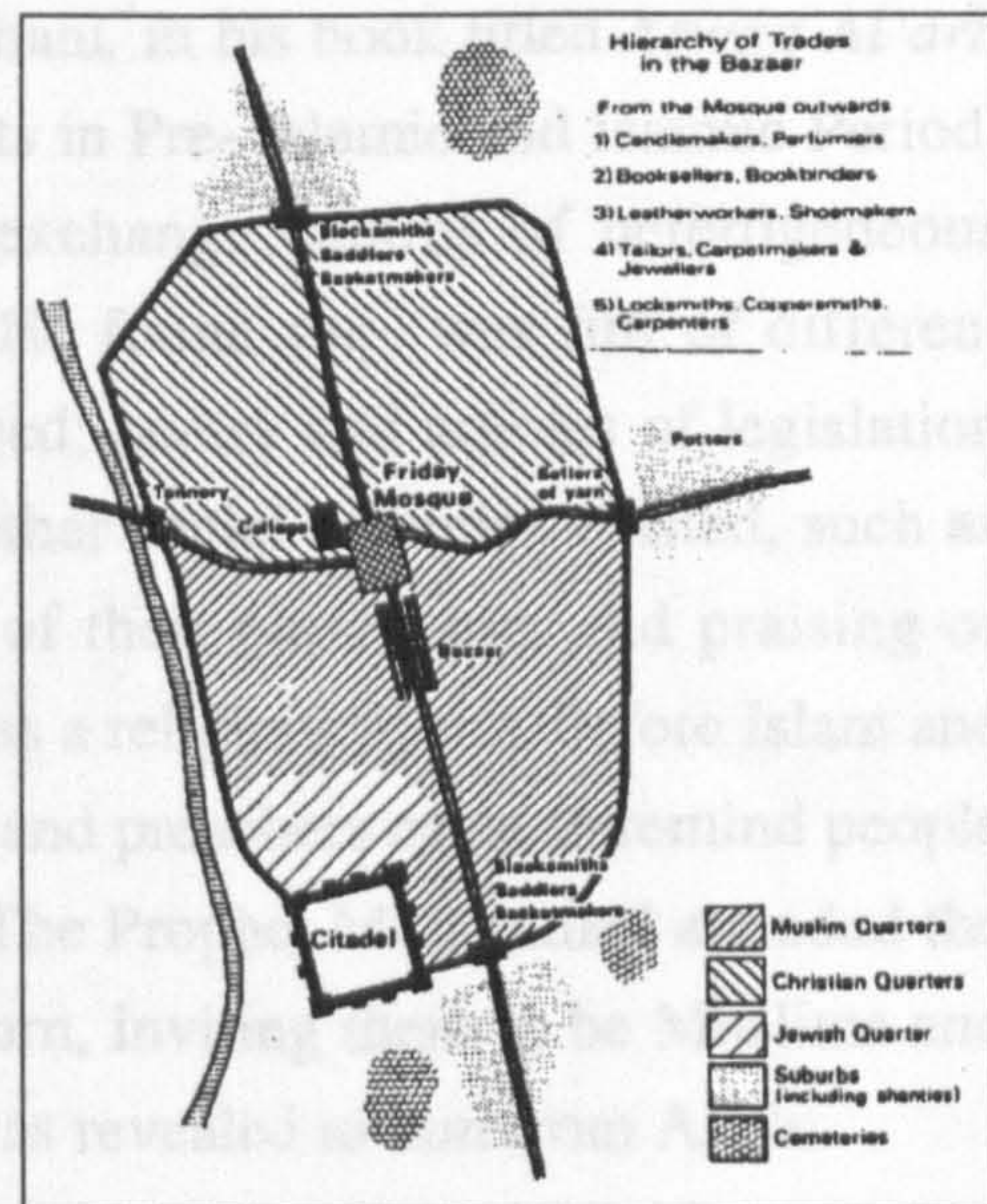


Fig. 1. 5 Model of the Islamic City. (Blakes and Lawless, 1980, p. 22)



Fig. 1.6 Exchange of crafts and industrial techniques (Wahbi & Mokhless, 1992. p. 253)

⁶- For example; - weaving craft whether rugs, carpets, curtains or dressing, - tent making, - dyer's craft, - goldsmithery and silver inlay, carpentry, and so on.

During the early days of Islam, Al-Afaghani, in his book titled *Aswaq Al`arb fi aljaheleeh wa alislam* ([Arabic] Arab Markets in Pre- Islamic and Islamic Period, 1960, pp. 285- 289), describes *aswaq* as exchange centres of heterogeneous activities; commercially as well as culturally. He found *suq* was full of different social activities. Requests for aid were announced; poetry and articles of legislation were declared; judgements were issued. Also, other social activities existed, such as setting up a religious forum, stripping people of their citizenship, and praising of glorious cavalries. The *suq* could be considered as a religious forum, before Islam and at its emergence, where many wise men, monks and preachers came to remind people of the hereafter, punishments, heaven and hell. The Prophet Mohammed attended the "Ukaz"⁷ annual *suq* and went to each tribe in turn, inviting them to be Muslims and believe in him as Prophet, showing them what was revealed to him from Allah.

At the same time, *aswaq* were full with different merchandise. On one side of the *suq* there might be linen cloths mixed with silk dye, colour, frankincense, spices, pearls and dates and perfumes; on another, gold and silver jewellery and silk fabrics. Even livestock production took place in the *suq* and items such as wool, soft hair, oils, and fats could be sold. Further more, there were tanned leather shoes sandals and weapons as well as carpenters, blacksmiths, and veterans. (Hamor, 1979, p. 110).

To this day, *aswaq* follow the same fashion as centres of exchange of trade and craft production, as well as of cultural exchange. Chapters Three and Four will deal with this in more detail using Jeddah as a case study.

1.3 - Historical Development of the *Aswaq*

As already noted, *aswaq* developed as separate caravan stations located at the crossings of trade routes. In time, these stations started to congregate around the more commercially active and better-serviced stations (fig. 1. 7). Mosques were the first permanent structures to appear as an essential service for travellers. As they developed, *aswaq* surrounded the mosque. Houses were also among the supportive structures. They supported the *aswaq* by providing the buying power, while the flourishing commercial activities of the *aswaq* helped the survival and development

⁷ Ukaz was one the annual *aswaq* which they based on the trade in the Arabian Peninsula, Chapter Two will describe them.

of more residential neighbourhoods, inns, coffee houses, restaurants, baths as well as organised communities, palaces, courts and so on.

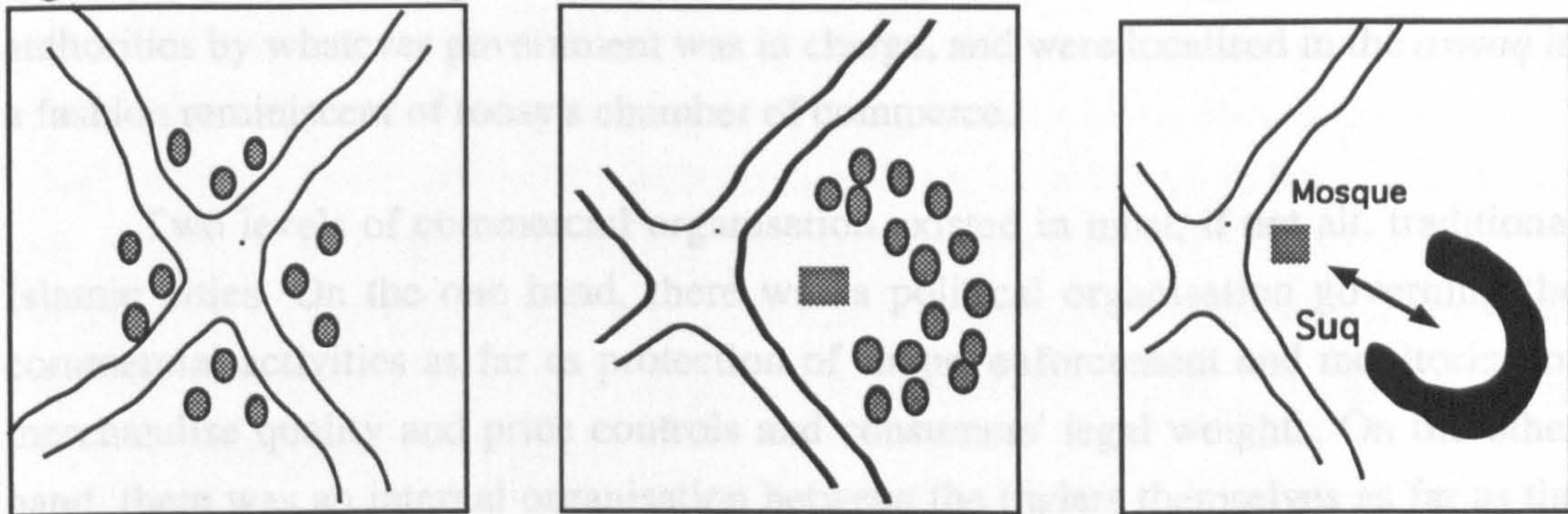


Fig. 1.7 Congregation of the commercial stations

From the historical records, *aswaq* were left open until the early *Umayyad* period, specially Mu`ayah b. Abi Sufyan (661-680), who built two buildings within the market area in Al-Madinah. The two buildings were known as *dar al-qtran* and *dar alnaqsan*. They were assigned to traders of specific goods and craftsmen of specific craft, and each of them had their own entrance to the market area. After Al-Madinah was Al-Fustat (which is known today as Cairo), where several buildings were built such as *dar al-`asl* (honey), *al-hibal* (ropes), *al-kibash* (rams), and *al-bazz* (textile) during the reign of `Abd Al-Malik b. Marrwan (in the early eighth century). This tradition of having such buildings was undertaken for all Muslim cities during the reign of Hisham b. `Abd Al-Malik (724 - 743).

In the ninth century, it seems that these buildings with their specialised zones had become the tradition within the Muslim city. They were built either by the State or privately, providing a steady income for the State and the cities (Aly`aqubi, 1962, p. 62).

1.4 - Commercial Organisation and the development of guilds

As cities developed, commercial and industrial activities within *aswaq* developed and a precise organisation and control became necessary. Each trader of specific trade and each craftsman of specific craft were grouped together into organisations called " Guilds " ⁸. Norms, values and ethics were set forward by all those who were involved in different guilds. Those who were selected as

⁸- Not only traders and craftsmen but also people who had no shops but worked at large or in their own houses, such as painters, pipecleaners, water carriers, sellers of sherbet, barbers, couriers, lampbearers, midwives and so on, were organized into guilds.

representatives of various trades were known as the *Mashayikh* (sing. *shaykh* = master). Heads of guilds of traditional Islamic cities were recognised as legitimate authorities by whatever government was in charge, and were localised in the *aswaq* in a fashion reminiscent of today's chamber of commerce.

Two levels of commercial organisation existed in most, if not all, traditional Islamic cities. On the one hand, there was a political organisation governing the commercial activities as far as protection of shops, enforcement and monitoring of merchandise quality and price controls and consumers' legal weights. On the other hand, there was an internal organisation between the traders themselves as far as the election of the heads of different guilds was concerned, as well as the election of the head of all guilds and the establishment and recognition of rights and obligations of different values within the guilds. Both internal and external organisations will be discussed in more details in Chapter Four.

1.4.1 External Organisation

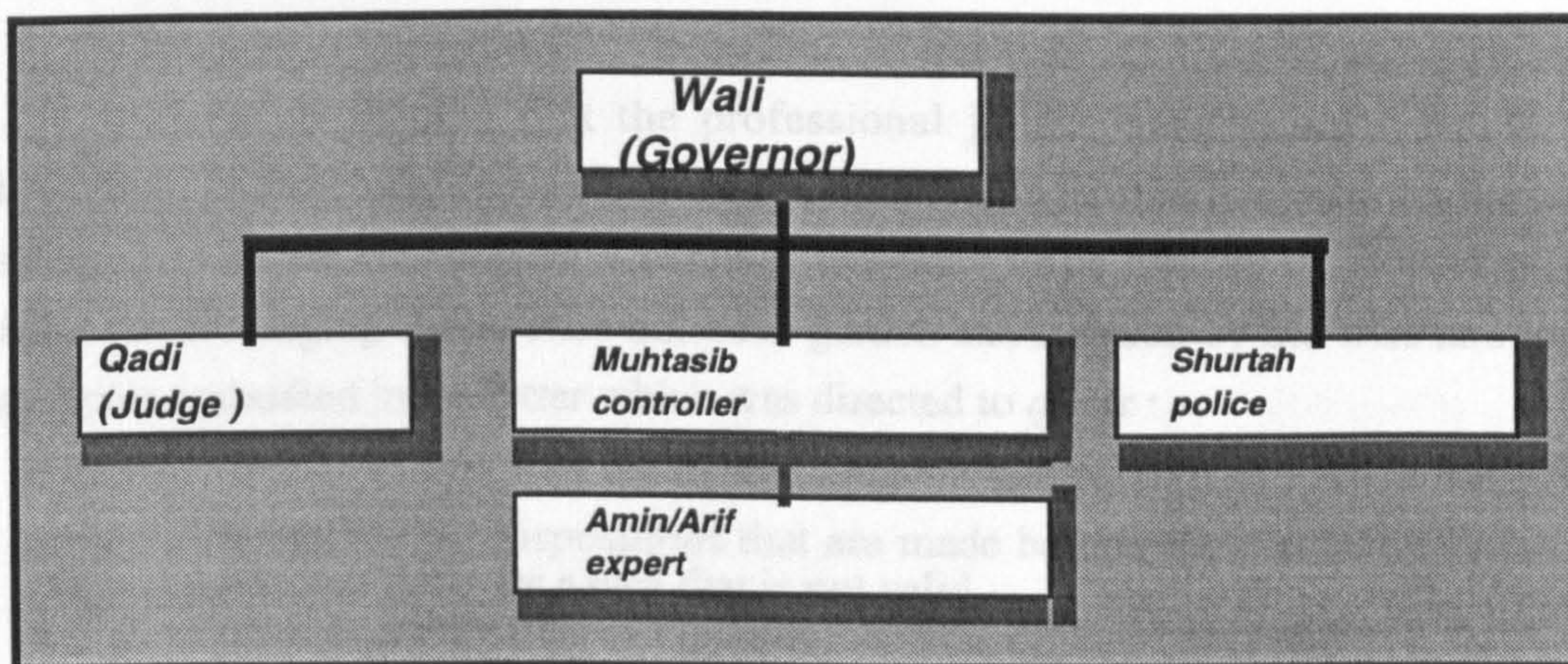


Fig. 1. 8 External organisation of commercial activities.

The *Wālī* (governor)

A *wālī* was a governor of a district who was appointed by the ruling dynasty of the time. The *wālī* was often the executive head of the town. His prerogatives and duties were to maintain law and order but he was not qualified to sit in judgement in the law courts. It was his privilege to appoint his assistants, including the *qāḍī*, *muḥtasib*, on whom, in practice, most of the town's business would devolve, and the *Shurtah*⁹ (police).

⁹This was an official institution which enforced the application of the Islamic *shari`ah* Laws, as well as the monitoring of the fulfilment the obligations stated by the *wālī*, *qāḍī*, or *muḥtasib*.

Also, he exercised judicial functions related to criminal offences. Thus he was responsible for the execution of sentences such as imprisonment. Another basically judicial function often fulfilled by the *wālī* (or even by the *Caliph* or *Sultan* himself) was in connection with the courts of *Maḍālim* (literally complaints about injuries). These were a kind of supreme administrative court specialising in the investigation and settlement of complaints against powerful and influential persons accused of misusing their privileged position to inflict injuries or acts of injustice on otherwise unprotected victims (Muddathir Abdel-Rhim, "Legal institutions", *The Islamic City*, ed. by R. B Serjeant, 1980, p. 45).

The *qāḍī* (judge)

The *qāḍī* was a scholar of religion whose credentials were recognised by the people of the town. As such, he was qualified by the reigning dynasty to sit in judgement in legal courts. The *qāḍī* would be involved in cases of disputes between people wherein the *shari`ah* application was evident.

Calephate `Omar sent a letter to Abu Musa al-Ash`ari when he was appointed *qāḍī* at Kufah describing that the professional judge, *qāḍī*, would proceed by observing absolute equality as between litigants and by carefully examining and assessing evidence before finally passing judgement. The manner of *qāḍāt* (pl. of *qāḍī*) in discharging their duties has been guided and inspired by the wise and lofty principles embodied in the letter which was directed to *qāḍāt* :

Understand the dispositions that are made before you, for it is useless to consider a plea that is not valid.

Consider all the people equal before you in your court and in your attention, so that the noble will not expect you to be partial and the humble will not despair of justice from you.

The claimant must produce evidence; from the defendant, an oath may be exacted.

Compromise is permissible among Muslims, but not any agreement through which something forbidden could be permitted, or something permitted forbidden.

If you gave judgement yesterday, and today, upon reconsideration, come to correct opinion, you should not feel prevented by your first judgement from retracting, for justice is primeval, and it is better to retract than to persist in worthlessness.

Use your brain in matters that perplex you and to which neither Qur'an nor Sunnah seem to apply. Study similar cases and evaluate the situation through analogy with those similar cases.

(Ibid., 46).

In addition to his purely judicial functions, a *qāḍī* would also be responsible for the control of *Awqaf* (n. pl. of *waqf*) and for the supervision of social services for which the *Awqaf* had been instituted. This meant that *qāḍī* was responsible for various hospitals, colleges and public baths.

Ibn Khaldun has pointed out, in his *Muqaddimah* , that the *qāḍī* supervised the property of insane persons, orphans, bankrupts and incompetents under the care of guardians; supervision of wills and mortmain donations and of the marrying of marriageable women without guardians to give them away (Ibid., p.46).

Muhtasib ¹⁰

The main duty¹¹ of the *muhtasib* was the supervision of the *aswaq*: this included the enforcement of the regulations under which the merchants had to operate; the monitoring of the use of correct weights and measures. His authority extended to the producers as well as to the traders. The guilds were under his inspection, and he was responsible for the maintenance of quality as well as of a fair price level. He was empowered to carry out punishment to trespassers on the spot, but he did not exceed the statutory penalties of the *shari`ah*. He also had the tasks of settling petty disputes between dealers and customers - as well as the duty to see to it that the faithful joined in prayer at the stipulated hours, that they kept the prescribed fast in the month of *Ramḍān*, and in general, that no one gave offence to his fellows by transgressing the precepts of the religious code or the received mores of the community. The *muhtasib* 's authority was the Islamic injunction "to order what is approved and prohibit what is reproved," (*al-amr bi'l-ma`ruf wa'n-nahy `an al-munkar*). The upholding of the moral order was his charge, and he acted in its pursuance whether he unmasked a fraudulent craftsman, or insisted on proper street cleaning, condemned (or invited the judge or the master of the building guild to condemn) a ramshackle building, compelled an owner to tear down a part of his house that protruded into the street to the detriment of the Muslims, enforced the disabilities which the Law imposed on the *dhimmī* (non-Muslims), or smashed wine jars and

¹⁰- The origin of the term *muhtasib* , is the office of *ḥisba* " to promote good and combat evil ". The term *ṣāhib* or *`amil*) *al-suq* was replaced by the *muhtasib* about the time of the caliphate of *al-Ma`mun* (Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1960, P. 485).

¹¹- As far as the public was concerned, the basic and permanent duty of the *muhtasib* was the control of the *suq*. He had to check the weights and measures which, being so complex and diverse, could easily be fraudulent. More generally, he had to watch for and combat all the types of shortcomings and dishonesty which could arise, both in the manufacturing and in the sale of commodities. He also made sure, from the point of view of the law, that the merchants did not indulge in any operation which was connected with the prohibited usury (*riba*). The *muhtasib* checked the prices but he did not normally have power to fix them.

musical instruments which some revellers insolently exhibited. He was the community's morality, its censor, whose competence could never be unambiguously defined, not only because the nature and extent of immorality varied, but also because the community would not always show the same degree of sensitivity to every trespasser.

Mawardi (d.1058), in detailing the obligations of the *muhtasib* , explains that:

"... In matters of worldly concern the jurisdiction may have to do with the general public or with individuals. Examples of the former are: failure of water supply, ruinous city walls, or the arrival of needy wayfarers whom the people of the place fail to provide for, and the *muhtasib* may order the water supply to be put right and the walls repaired , and may relieve the wayfarers on their passage, all this being chargeable on the treasury and not on the inhabitants, as are also dilapidations in mosques. But if the treasury be without funds, then these liabilities fall on all inhabitants of substance, but not on any one of them specifically, and if such person act, the *muhtasib's* right to compulsion is at an end."

(Cited in Gustave, 1976, p.153)

The *muhtasib* had a number of subordinate officers which enabled him to be represented rapidly anywhere, and to summon delinquents. The *muhtasib* was appointed by the *wālī* , sometimes directly, but more often through the governors or the *qaḍāt* (*n.sing. qāḍī*), to whom the functions of *ḥisba* was officially delegated, not, in principle, in order that they should perform it themselves, but so that they might ensure that it was carried out. The *muhtasib* had to be a man known for his moral integrity and for his competence in matters concerning the prevailing Laws as well as the Islamic *shari`ah* laws. They were chosen from among the *`ulamā* (religious scholars), merchants, and officials. (Gustave, 1976, p. 152).

The *muhtasib* continued to exist throughout the greater part of the Muslim world (1800s) until the reforms of the modern period (1900s). However, up until today the traditional role of the *muhtasib* is still played in Morocco and at Bukhara and Jeddah¹². Today, the municipality performs the function of the *muhtasib* in the form of the department called " *Aswaq* supervision". Later in the chapter we will see

¹² From the Saldjukid period in Irano-Turkish territory and occasionally elsewhere, the office was more usually called *ihtisab*, the name of *ḥisba* being reserved for the virtue which the holder must exhibit. (Encyclopadia of Islam, 1960, pp. 285-289).

how far the role of the *muḥtasib* effected the general layout of the various activities of the *suq*.

Amin / `ārif (the expert)

Each craft or trade had an *`ārif* appointed as its overseer. These were selected from among the craftsmen (by the craftsmen themselves) and appointed by the *muḥtasib* to be his agent, as well as an agent of the state authority. The duties of the *`ārif* were to advise the *muḥtasib* about the practices of the trade, and the general condition of the market. They were generally responsible for the exaction of whatever duties were assigned the craftsmen. They assisted in the organisation of the markets for auxiliary military service, and when ordered by the government brought out the workers for ceremonial occasions such as meeting returning walat or armies in candlelit processions. Most probably they were also in charge of the decoration of the markets when royal decrees required the shopkeepers to celebrate military victories, visits of important dignitaries, and other public events. (Lapidus, 1973, pp.95-104).

1.4.2- Internal Organisation

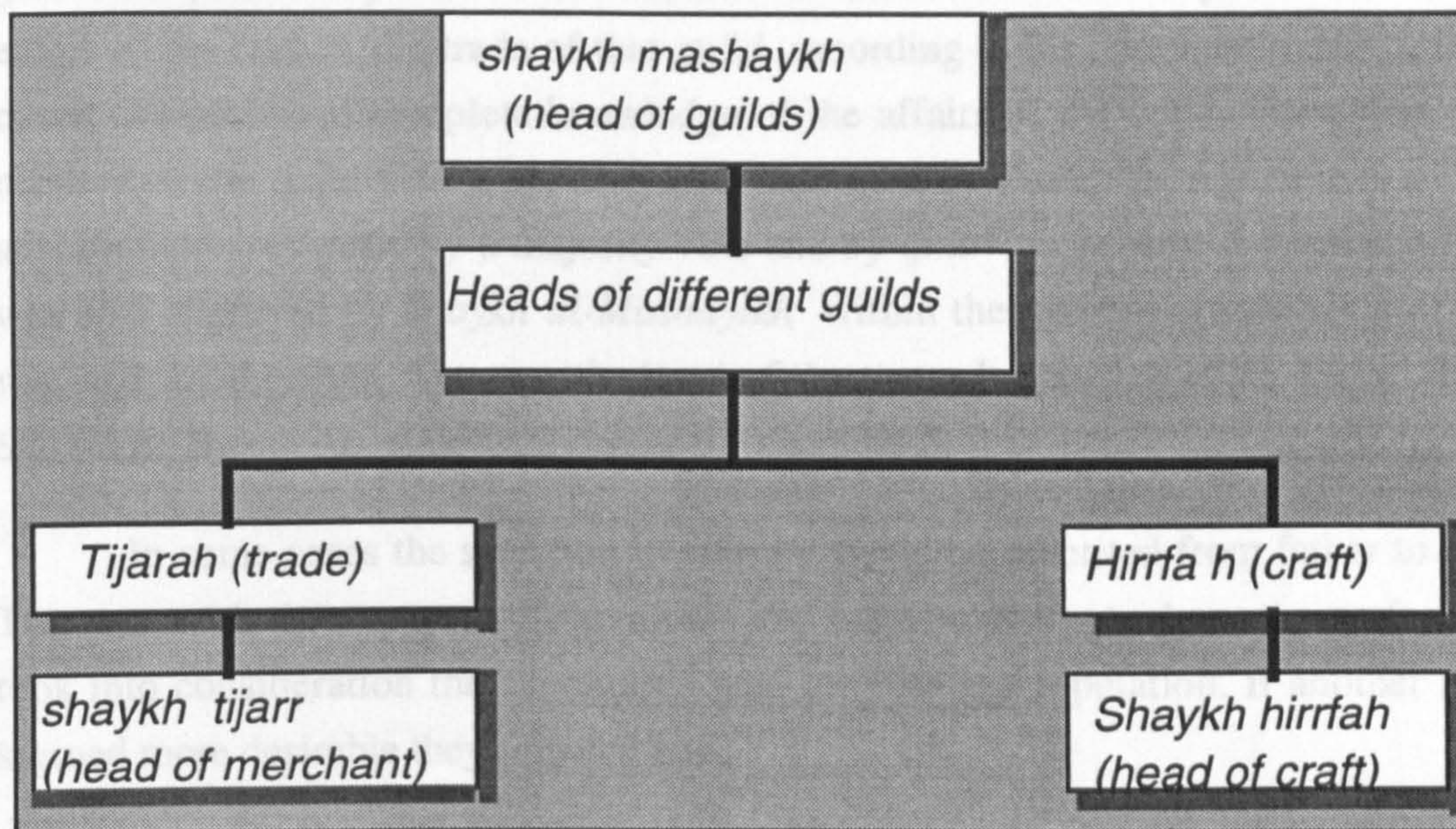


Fig. 1. 9 The internal organisation of the *suq*.

The guilds played an important role in the organisation of occupational activities. They provided training as well as capital for their members: and they were also agents for the regulation and protection of their respective crafts . Within the internal organisation of the commercial activities, there also existed a hierarchy of individuals whose responsibilities and obligations helped control the behaviours of guild members under a strict code of ethics that members of different crafts abided by, as well as between themselves and the public, represented by the government as we saw earlier. (Hassan, Ekistics, Jan. 1971, pp. 61-63.).

All the guilds were controlled by *Shaykh Mashayikh* and through them the *aswaq*, i.e. all production and distribution in the city as well as all services. He was the *Shaykh* of the *Mashaykh* of all guilds. He exercised real authority in the city and commonly accepted only the authority of the political rulers.

Shaykh ¹³

Every craft (*ṣinf* or *ḥirrafah*) and trade (*tijārah*) had a guild and a guild leader. They were usually know by their titles, for example, a *shaykh* of the Damascus gold *suq*, a merchant who was *shaykh* of his *suq*, a pharmacist *shaykh* of his *suq*, and

¹³-This word "*shaykh* "is used as the headman of village, or a family, or of a group of families, the chief of the *`Alam* (pl. of *`ulamā*), and even as the head of a guild is the *shaykh* of his guildsmen.

so on. Each *shaykh* or *mashaykh* of the different guilds, whether *tijārah* or *ḥirrfah*, gained his position by the elected *shaykh*. This election was done by the masters and elders of the craft or the trade of that guild, according to his conscientiousness, high moral character and complete knowledge of the affairs of the guild. The elders and masters of the guild held a meeting and selected a new *shaykh*. Agreement on the appointment was made by a majority vote and by *ijma'* (consensus of opinion). This was also approved by *Shaykh al-Mashayikh* within the internal organisation of the *suq*, and by the *wālī* who was the head of the town. In the case of no *ijm`a*, then *Shaykh al-Mashayikh* appointed one of the candidates.

In some cases the selection of *shaykh* could be inherited from father to son. This was with the approval of the elders and masters of the trade or the craft, who took into consideration the candidate's past services and reputation. If another man seemed more desirable they selected him.

Masters assisted the *Shaykh* of the guild in carrying out his functions and one of them would act for him in his absence. They helped *muḥtasib* in keeping law and order in the *aswaq* and one of them would eventually become the *shaykh* of the guild..

The *Shaykh* had the right to call meetings, at which he refereed, for the discussion of the affairs of the guild. It was also his duty to ensure that the regulations of the trade were respectable and to penalise those who disobeyed the privileges of the craft. For example, when a weaver produced a piece of cloth that fell short of the customary standards in length and breadth, the *Shaykh* of the guild took hold of it, cut it in pieces and hung it up in the *suq* as a warning to all. Also, when a member of a guild was found guilty of fraud in the practice of his trade the *Shaykh* sent the *naqabā* (pl. of *naqīb* = assistance) to shut his shop, which could not be opened again without the approval of the *Shaykh*. If a goldsmith were found guilty of mixing his metal, the *Shaykh* of the goldsmiths overturned his tools so that he was unable to work until the *Shaykh* gave his permission. In most cases, the traitor and the thief were expelled completely from the guild

The *Shaykh* was also called upon to find work for labourers, in which case he recommended them to the masters. He alone had the right to initiate skilled apprentices into artisans and artisans into masters. It was also his privilege to grant permission to a master to open a new shop in the guild's *suq* or section of the *suq*. He negotiated with the government on matters which concerned his guild, especially in matters relating to taxation. He settled disputes among the guild members, mobilised

them in cases of emergencies and led them in public ceremonies and processions. In short, the *shaykh* of a guild was not only its head but the symbol of its very existence; without him the guild would not be a guild. Furthermore, his powers transcended the *aswaq* for he remained a central authority in the residential areas (*hay*) where the guild members lived (Lewis, 1937, pp.20-37).

1.5-The Elements of the *Suq*'

Within a typical traditional *suq*, a number of elements were essential for its existence, while others acted as supporting components carrying out secondary activities. However, the structure of the *suq* as a whole did not differentiate between primary or secondary activities, with its various elements acting as one system with all seemingly having equal importance. These elements

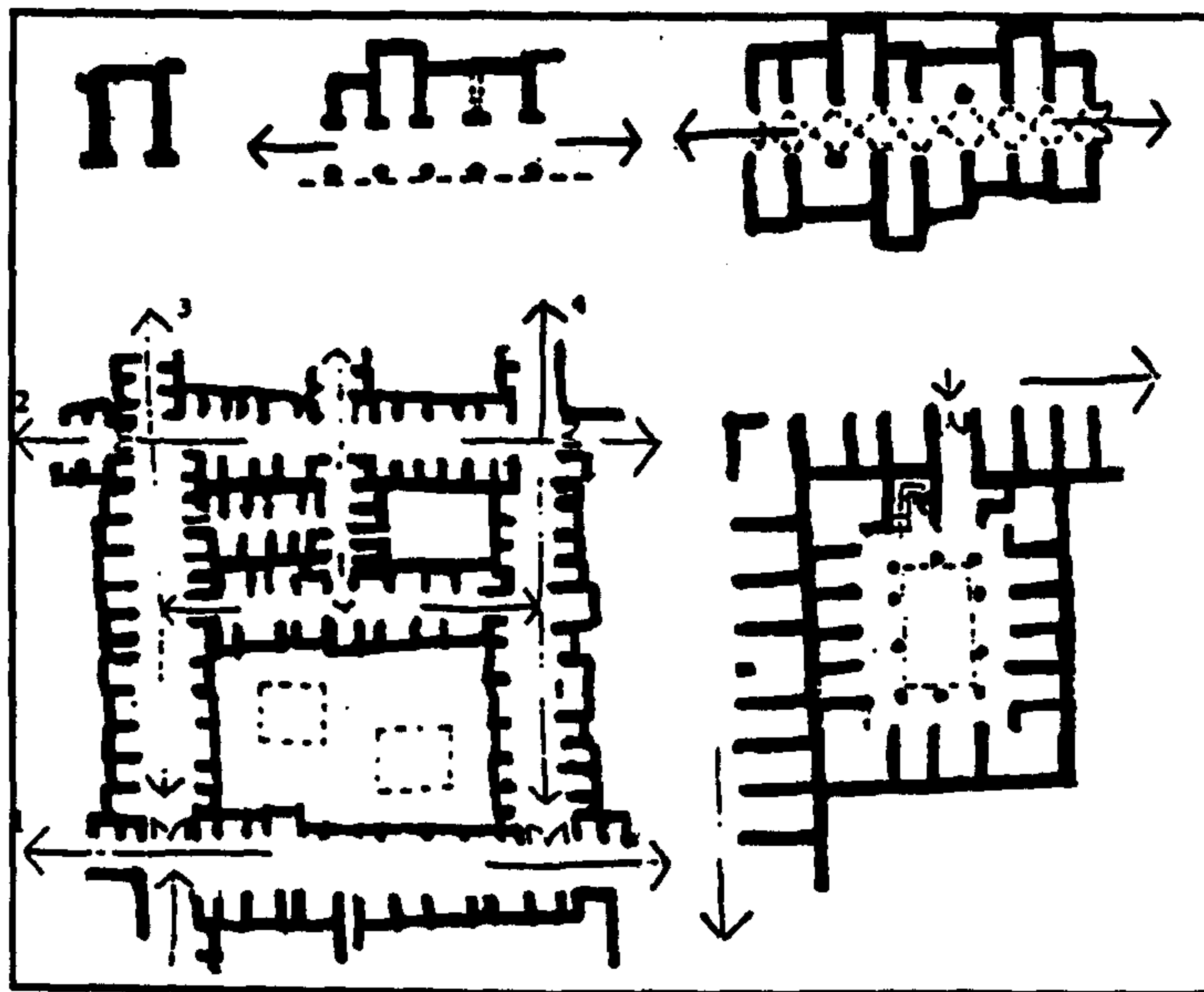


Fig. 1.10 Elements of *suq* (Basim Hakim, 1986, p.128)

were shops, *khan /qaysariyyah* or *wakala*, craft schools, baths, and so on. Here we will discuss those directly connected with the commercial side of the *aswaq* (fig. 1.10).

1.5.1. *Hanut* (shop)

Within the category of shops - as opposed to heavy industry workshops, - a *hanut* (an individual shop) would be repeated to form arcades, which developed on both sides of a public thoroughfare (fig. 1.11). As these arcades intersected, more shops would follow to form whole specialised blocks of shops where a school for teaching crafts, baths and other associated activities took place. The more planned of these developments were known as the *wakala*, *khan*, or *qaysariyyas*¹⁴, a building that would include shops, workshops, warehouses and accommodation for merchants.

¹⁴-*wakala*, *khan*, or *qaysariyya* are the same meaning, *wakala* in Egypt, *Khan* in Central Asia, and *qaysariyyasqy* in Turkey (according to the available data).

These developed into magnificent and elaborate structures like those of Cairo and Isfahan.

1.5.2. *Qaysariyya* or *Khan* or *Wekala*

These elaborated structures, *Qaysariyyat* or *Khanat* or *Wakalat* were buildings that were chiefly built for the reception of merchants and their goods and animals. There, they found lodging and storage for their merchandise until such time as they could dispose of them. Thus, *khanat* became of vital importance for the success of commercial activities on a large scale.

The *khan* consisted of rows of stores surrounding a courtyard. It was open to the street and was defended by strong gates which were

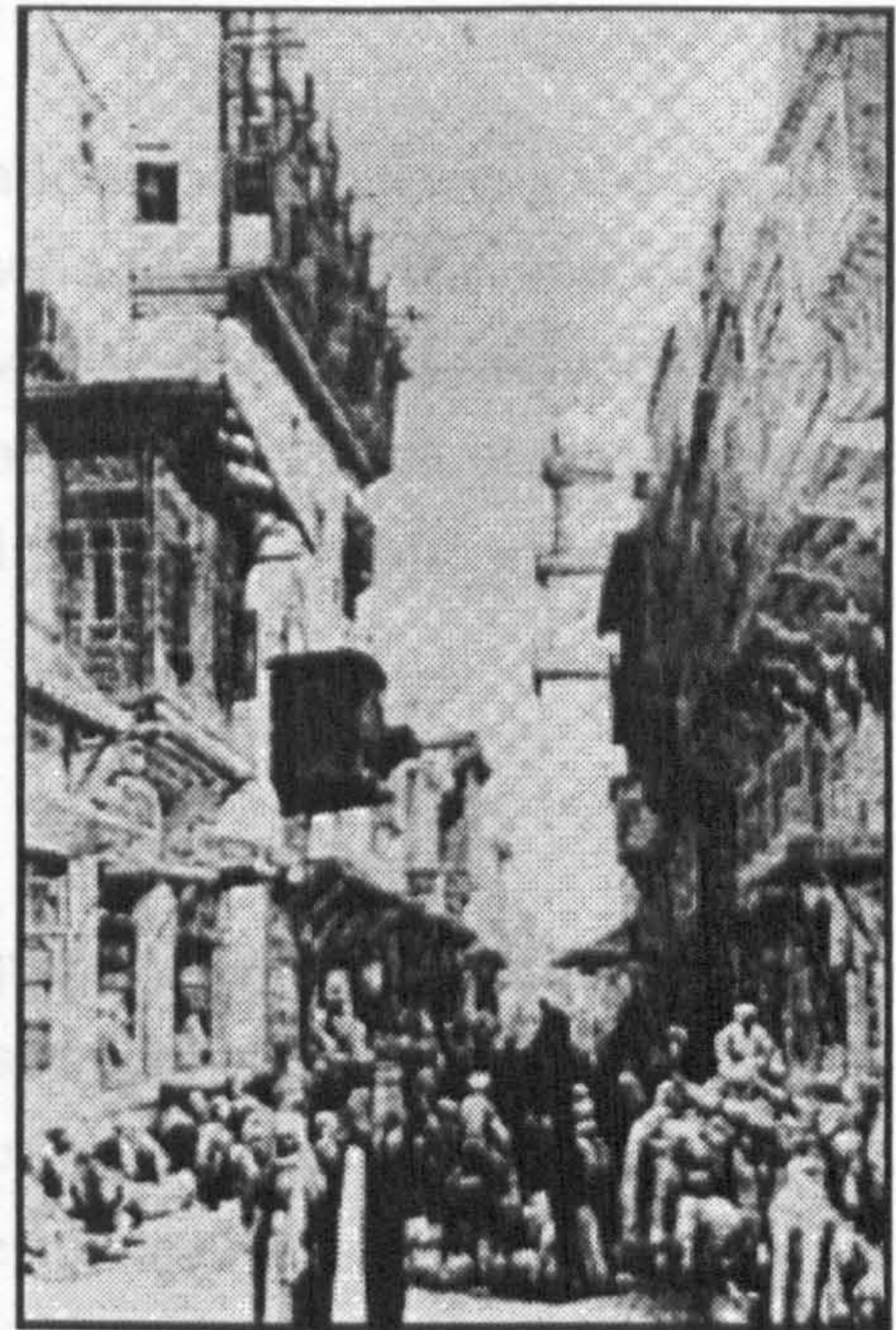


Fig. 1. 11 Public thoroughfare (Raymond, 1984, p. 39).

kept closed at night. Many *khanat* had upper floors providing lodgings for merchants while animal sheds were close by. Some *khanat* were located close to the city centre, others were closer to its gates (fig. 1. 12)

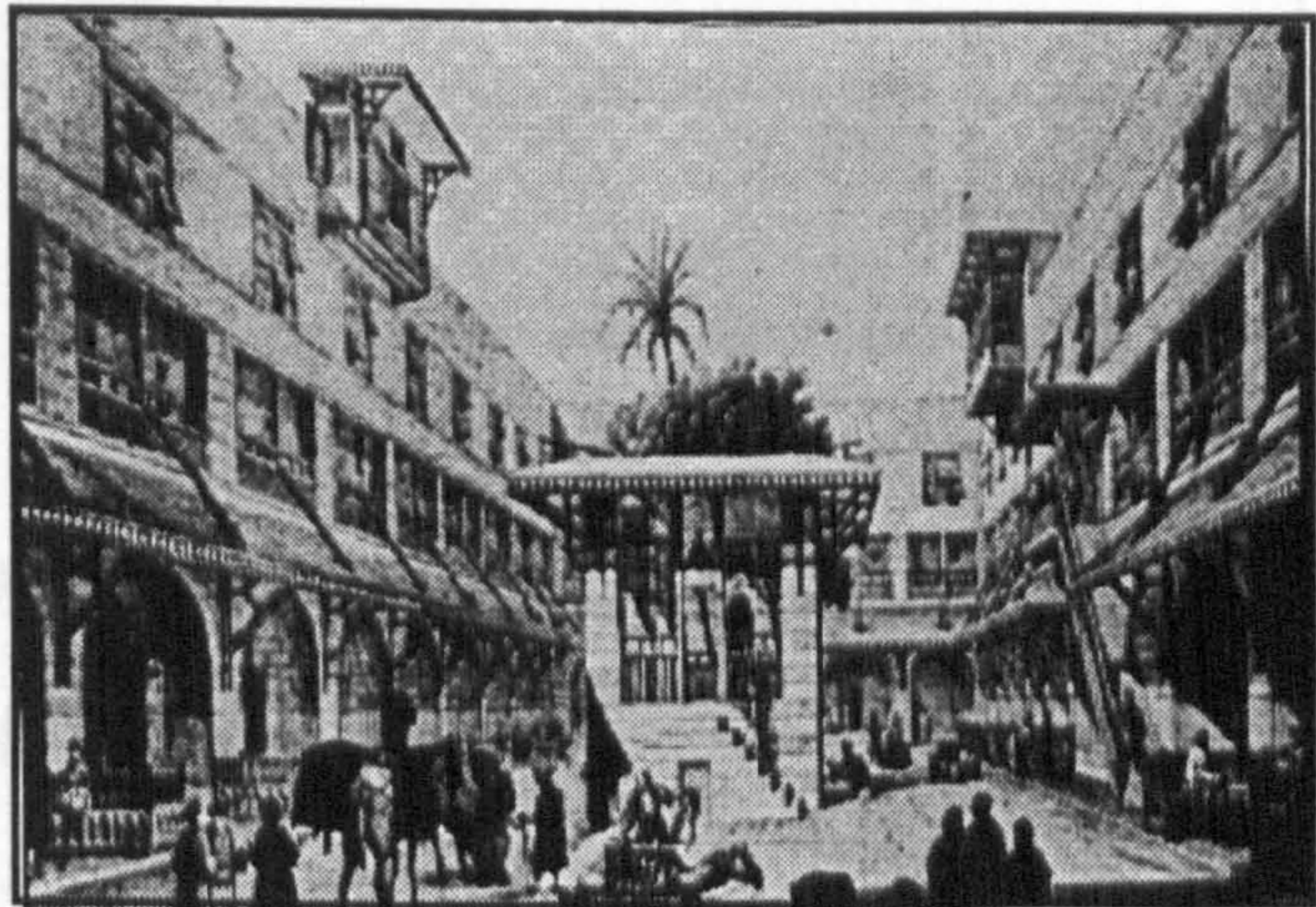


Fig. 1. 12 Khan Dulfigar (Raymond, 1984, P.47)

1.5.3 *Arasta*

This was a organisational structure that followed the Islamic notion of endowment or *waqf*. In this system, one organisational structure would financially support the other, while both were non-profit making. As in an endowment (accommodation for widows), the rent goes to support the maintenance of the mosque. These were known in Ottoman Turkey as the *arasta*, which were rows of shops attached to a large mosque and which supported it financially. The term was used in several other Muslim countries to refer to similarly functioning organisations.

1.5.4. *Mydān*

This was an open square, usually central in location and serving the city as a centre for commercial, social and administrative activity. It was the place for processions of the ruler and military parades. The *Mydān* was also a cultural centre by night with entertainers, poets and story-tellers performing their work. It was the scene for such public events as political gatherings and uprisings, public executions and funerals of distinguished people.

1.6- Mosque-Suq-City Tripartite Relationships

To show how strong the effect of the mosque was on the development of the *aswaq* and the city as a whole, let us look at the placement of the various activities of the *suq* within the urban structure. The main rule determining the relation between the *Aswaq* activities (i.e., industries, retail) and the mosque was the elimination of harmful activity from the mosque and the residential areas. Only clean and less offensive industries were allowed in proximity to the mosque .

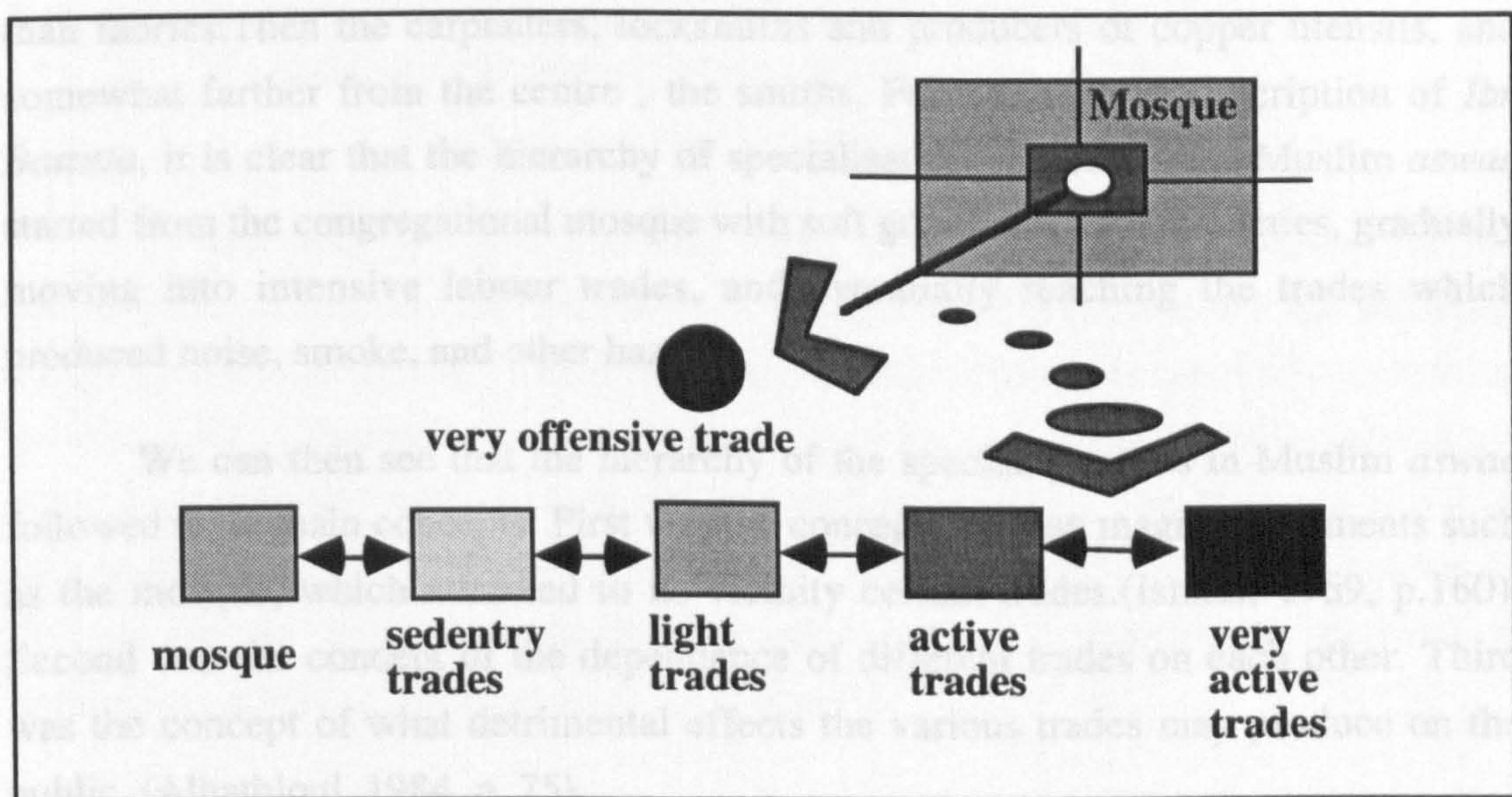


Fig. 1. 13 Elimination of harmful activities from the mosque.

Based on the concept of "no harm nor reciprocating harm"¹⁵ (*la darar wala dirar*), the *aswaq* developed around or in direct connection with the mosques and the administrative centre of the city (i.e., the Governor's palace), while heavier industries were placed close to the walls of the city, or were contained in closed buildings (fig. 1. 13).

¹⁵ An authentic Prophetic Hadith.

Gustave refers to what *Ibn Battuta* said when he visited the Muslim Quarter in a Chinese Town:¹⁶

"Near the mosque as a religious centre we will find the suppliers of the sanctuary, the *Suq* of the candle merchants, the dealers in incense and other perfumes . Near the mosque as an intellectual centre we will find also the *Suq* of the booksellers, the *Suq* of the bookbinders, and, as its neighbour, the *Suq* of the leather merchants and the makers of slippers"

(Cited in Gustave, 1976, p. 146).

The congregational mosque, as the centre of religious life in the Islamic city, is considered a magnetic urban element, attracting certain types of trade such as the suppliers to the mosque of candles, incense and other perfumes, books sellers and book binders. Following the principle of the dependence of different trades on each other, next to the book sellers and book binders *aswaq* would be located the leather merchants and the slipper *aswaq*, both of whom are in one way or another concerned with leather goods. Next would be dealers in textiles, and precious materials other than fabrics. Then the carpenters, locksmiths and producers of copper utensils, and somewhat farther from the centre , the smiths. From the above description of *Ibn Battuta*, it is clear that the hierarchy of specialisation of trade in the Muslim *aswaq* started from the congregational mosque with soft goods and light industries, gradually moving into intensive labour trades, and eventually reaching the trades which produced noise, smoke, and other hazards.

We can then see that the hierarchy of the speciality trades in Muslim *aswaq* followed three main concepts: First was the concept of urban magnetic elements such as the mosque, which attracted to its vicinity certain trades.(Ismail, 1969, p.160). Second was the concept of the dependence of different trades on each other. Third was the concept of what detrimental effects the various trades may produce on the public. (Alhathloul, 1984, p. 75).

¹⁶In about 787 the first Arab vessel called at the port of "Kanfu," probably Hangchow, south of the Yangtze River

1.7 The role of the *muhtasib* in the *suq* layout

These hierarchies of trades, ranked according to their proximity to the mosque, did not develop haphazardly, but out of a form of government control. Here we need to recall the role of the *muhtasib*, and the extent his duties affected the organisation and location of various commercial and industrial activities. Since the Prophet's time, the main responsibility of the *muhtasib* was to maintain the order and quality of the *suq* according to religious principles, as we saw earlier (fig. 1. 13). (Al-Hathloul, 1984, p.11-12).

Al-Shayzari (d.589/1193) mentions several things in his manual about what the *muhtasib* should do in order to maintain the quality of the *suq*:

The *muhtasib* should see to it that producers of the same kinds of goods have one of the market lanes completely for themselves. So the lanes will be known by their trade, since this will make it easier for their customers and will make their produce more saleable. As for the artisans who need the setting of fire...such as bakers, cooks, and blacksmiths... it is preferable for the *al-muhtasib* to place them at a distance from the dealer in perfumes and the drapers, since they share no similarity and because of the possibility of causing harm."

(Cited in Al-Hathloul, 1984, p.11-12).

In addition, specialisation had many advantages for all concerned: the consumers, retailers, and administrators. Consumers benefited from this specialisation by the opportunity to select merchandise at reasonable prices because of competition between sellers. Specialisation also gave an opportunity for retailers and producers to organise themselves into guilds to develop and control their own trade. In addition, administrators benefited from specialisation in the *suq*, because the grouping of retailers and producers of similar goods in one lane made it easier for the *muhtasib* to control the quality of goods and to collect taxes fig (1. 14).

Each medieval Islamic city had its markets; the larger the city, the bigger its markets. Large cities, such as Cairo¹⁷, Damascus, Aleppo, San'a, and Istanbul had to provide goods not only for their populations, but for the countryside as well. The

¹⁷ *Al-maqrizi*, (who died in 845/1427 AH), pointed out in his description of Cairo *aswaq* that they were so numerous, so *Al-Qasabah* had contained 12,000 *hanut* (shop); that they spent almost 1,000 Golden *Dinar* (the currency of that time) daily on cleaning the *Al-Qasabah* from the disposal garbage of these *hawanit* (pl. of *hanut*). Some of these *hawanit* for instance are: _ (*Suq Alfotooh*) which sells meat. _ (*suq Almurahhaleen*) where caravans and their needs had to be equipped. _ (*Suq Alshammain*) candle market. _ (*Suq Aldjjajin*) poultry market. _ (*Suq Alselah*) weaponry market. _ (*Suq Aljokhein*) broadcloth market.

amount of trade in such cities permitted the existence of different *aswaq* of different sizes in the same city (figures 1. 15, 1. 16, and 1. 17). Beside the main *aswaq*, other secondary small ones, or *suweqah* (lit. little markets), were these to serve the needs of local residential quarters or *harat*.

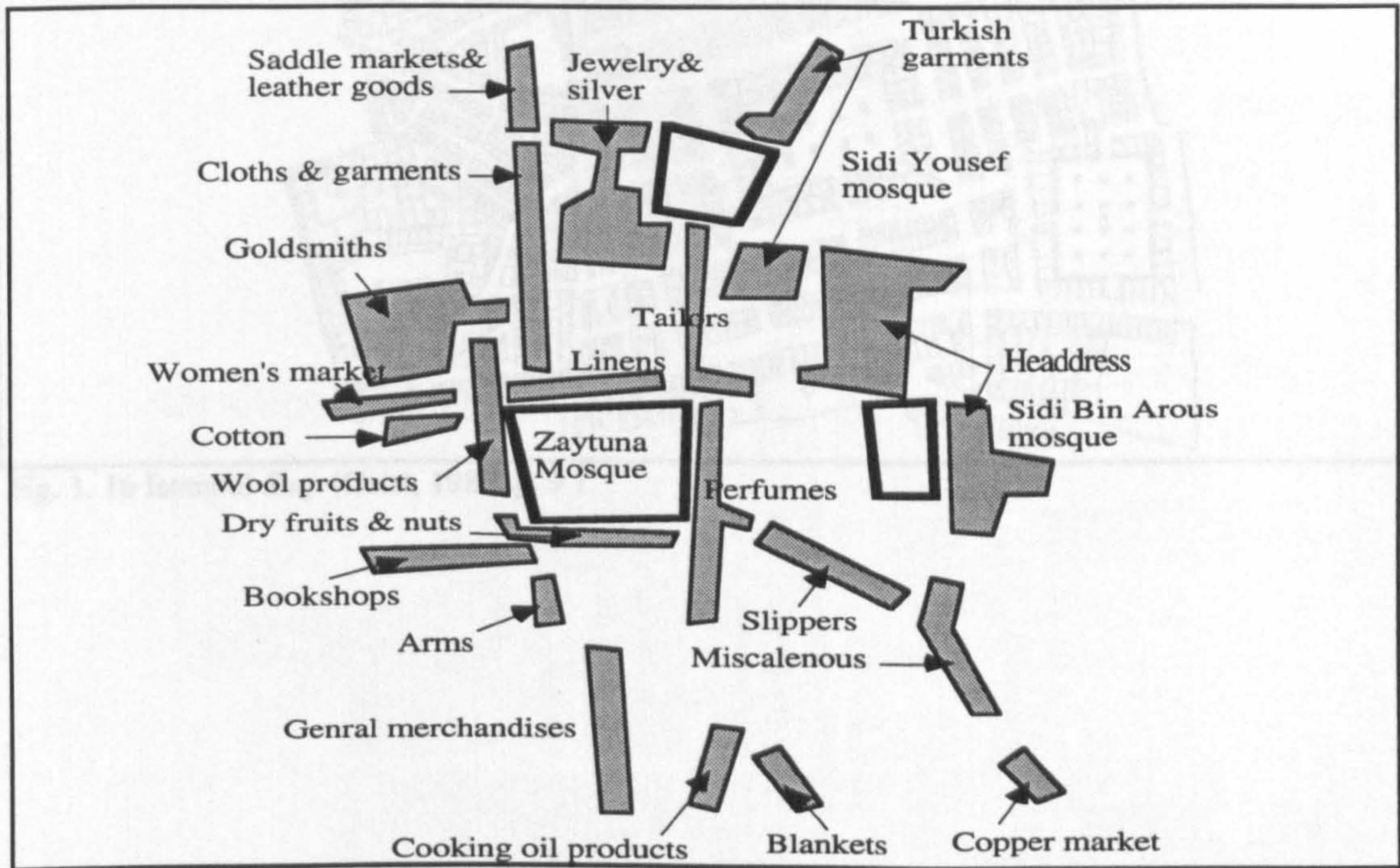


Fig 1. 14 The traditional distribution of major trades and products in Zaytuna Mosque and the surrounding *Suq*, (Hakim, 1986, p.85).

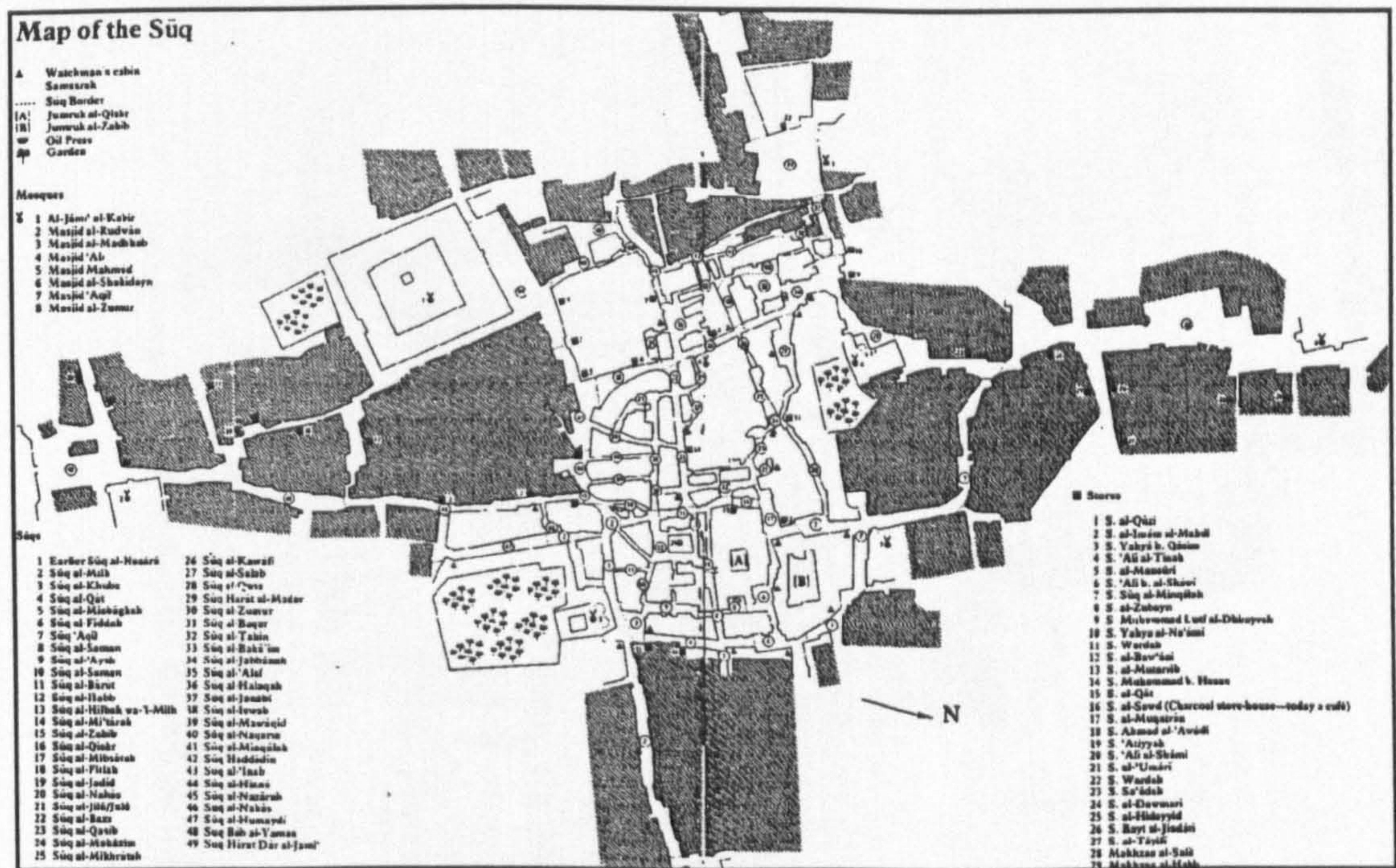


Fig. 1. 15 Sana' *suq* (Serjeant & Lewcock, 1983, p249.)

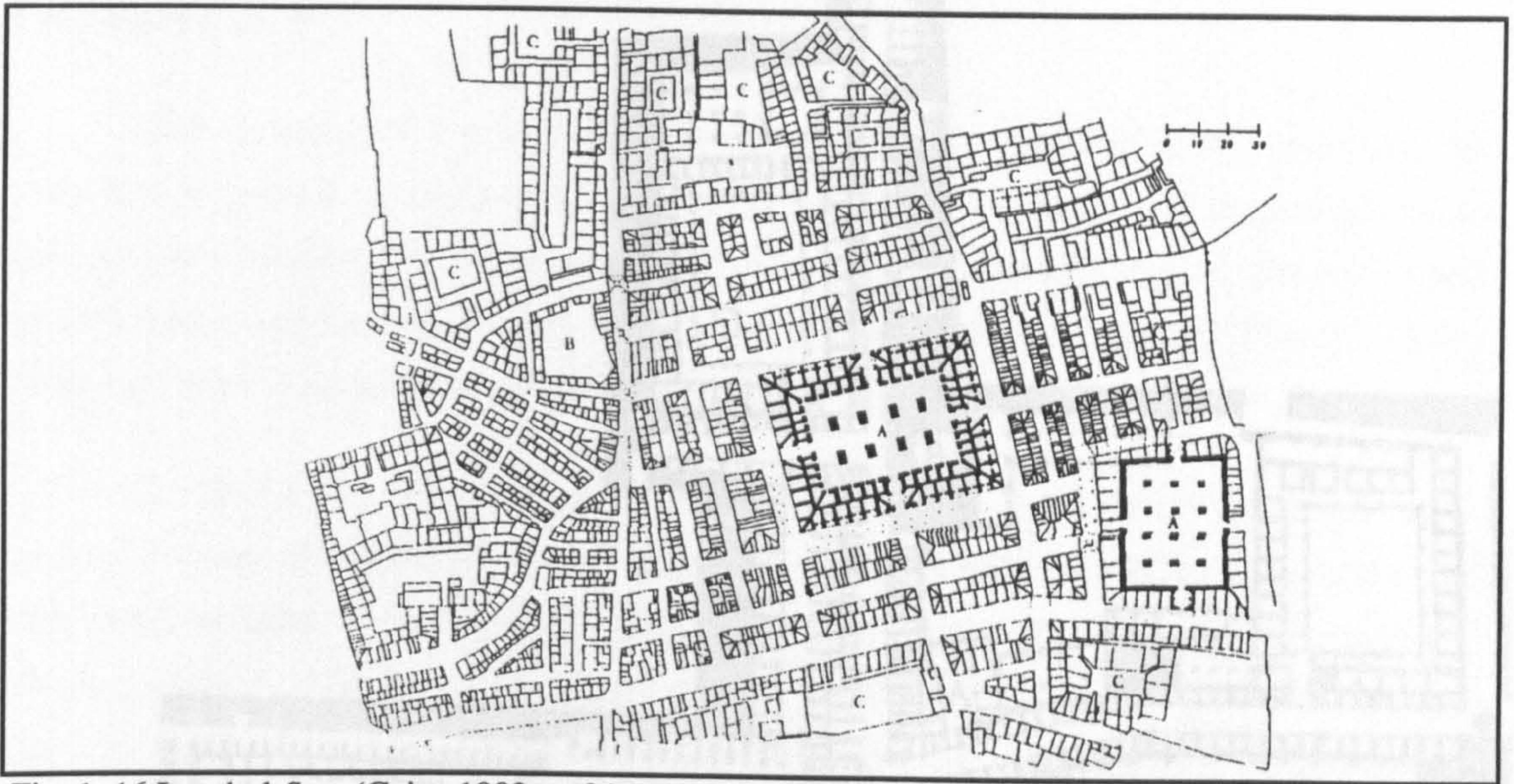


Fig. 1. 16 Istanbul Suq (Geist, 1983, p. 9)

Conclusions

The crossing of the road for the growth of the suq, and the need for water and shaded places to rest, so the supporting building was built in and more merchandise, and buildings started to come together.

Traders from one place to another, a sort of exchange - occurred, and the suq became a place for exchange in terms of goods and services. The suq played a role in the development of the city, and the suq became a place for exchange in terms of goods and services.

How does the suq cultural system work? This will be a question that will be asked. How people occupied suq, applying the suq system. In other words, what is the cultural system of the suq? Finally, how is the suq system of the suq? The suq system of the suq is a system of exchange in terms of goods and services. The suq system of the suq is a system of exchange in terms of goods and services. The suq system of the suq is a system of exchange in terms of goods and services.

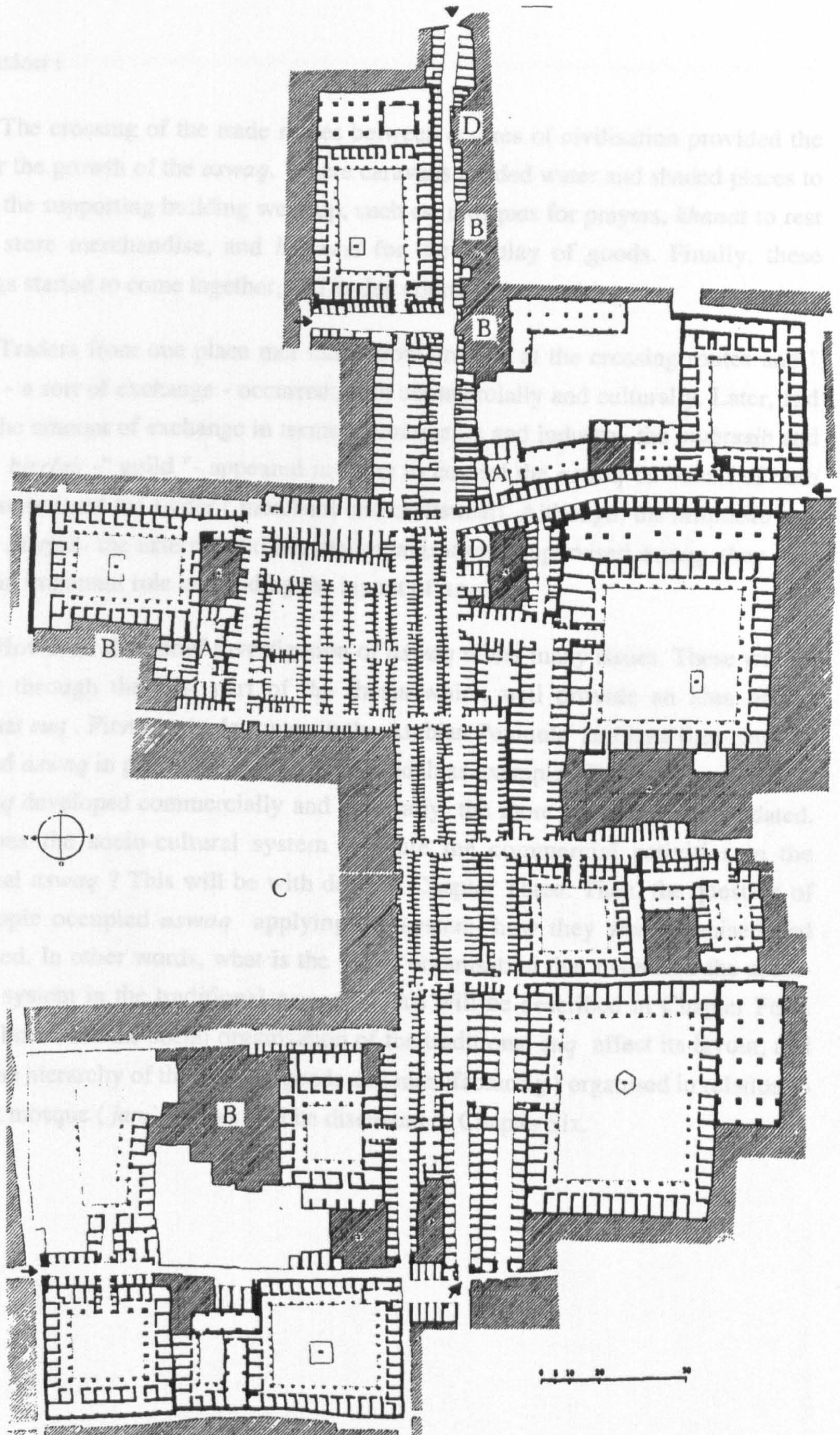


Fig. 1. 17 Aleppo Suq (Geist, 1983, p. 11)

Conclusion :

The crossing of the trade routes between centres of civilisation provided the seed for the growth of the *aswaq*. Where caravans needed water and shaded places to rest, so the supporting building went up, such as; mosques for prayers, *khanat* to rest in and store merchandise, and *hawneet* for the display of goods. Finally, these buildings started to come together, and in due course became cities.

Traders from one place met those from another at the crossing routes and "*aswaq*" - a sort of exchange - occurred; both commercially and culturally. Later, and due to the amount of exchange in terms of commerce and industry, the *muhtasib* and *shaykh hırrfah* - " guild " - appeared in order to control the *aswaq* on behalf of both the consumer and the trader (merchant and craftsman). Although, the *muhtasib* and *shaykh hırrfah*- the external and internal organisations- supervised *aswaq*, they also played an important role in deciding the layout of *aswaq* .

However, this brief investigation of *aswaq* raises many issues. These will be covered through the first part of the thesis which will provide an idea of the traditional *suq* . First: the trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula and how they caused cities and *aswaq* in particular to arise with Jeddah as example: Chapter Two. Second, as *aswaq* developed commercially and culturally, the more exchange consolidated. How does the socio-cultural system regulate the commercial activities in the traditional *aswaq* ? This will be with dealt in Chapter Three. Then, the question of how people occupied *aswaq* applying the system, how they wereorganised and supervised. In other words, what is the social organisation that maintains the socio-cultural system in the traditional *aswaq* ?. This will be described in Chapter Four. Finally, how does the social organisation of the traditional *suq* affect its layout, and how is the hierarchy of the trades (goods and manufacturing) organised in relation to the great mosque (*jam`i*). This will be discussed in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER TWO : HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASWAQ IN JEDDAH

CHAPTER TWO :

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASWAQ IN JEDDAH

The Arabian Peninsula connects two different geographical regions, the Mediterranean and the hot tropical region of S.E. Asia. Both regions have their own products and cultures. Therefore, most caravans passed through the Arabian Peninsula between these different cultures. Trade routes and stations for huge caravans were established and cities emerged. Jeddah, located in the western region of the Arabian Peninsula, called Hejaz, is one such city. Also, Hejaz has evidence of the emergence of Islam particularly at Makkah and Al-Medinah. Because of Jeddah's location on the trade route and its proximity to the Holy cities (Makkah and Al-Medinah), it acquired an importance from the early days of Islam.

The traditional *aswaq* of the city of Jeddah are the main concern of this research, for the reasons of available documentation and because the traditional *aswaq* in other Islamic cities seem to have been influenced by the same traditions as in Jeddah, as we saw in Chapter One.

This chapter provides a historical description of the early trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula and the reasons for them. Also, their consequences in this area. I will concentrate on the trade routes which passed through the Hejaz region, and how these trade routes played an important role in the commercial prosperity of Jeddah and its traditional *aswaq* in particular.

2.1 Jeddah and trade routes:

The Arabian Peninsula is located in the south west of the Asian continent. It is surrounded by water on three sides, bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean, the east by the Persian Gulf and on the west the Red Sea. On the north, it is bounded by the Fertile Crescent. The Arabian Peninsula is a desert land, except for several scattered desert oases. On the North-Eastern border lie the two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, flowing from North to East. Beyond the North-Western border of the Red Sea, in Egypt, lies the navigable Nile, which flows from South to North. Through history – since the Sumerians (third millennium BC) and followed by Babylonian, Greek, Roman and Islamic periods –, the Arabian desert, functioning like the sea, has been

opened to trade from every side. In the past, camels in the desert, like the ships in the sea, were used as the means of transport for trade. On the eastern side of the Arabian Peninsula, beyond the Persian Gulf, lie Iran and India to the south and east. To the west of the Red Sea, the Peninsula connects to the east of Africa, while in the north Sinai links the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt and to harbours on the shores of Palestine, and Syria which bring it into close relationship with the Mediterranean countries, and Europe (fig. 2.1) (Rostovtzev, 1932, pp.1-35).

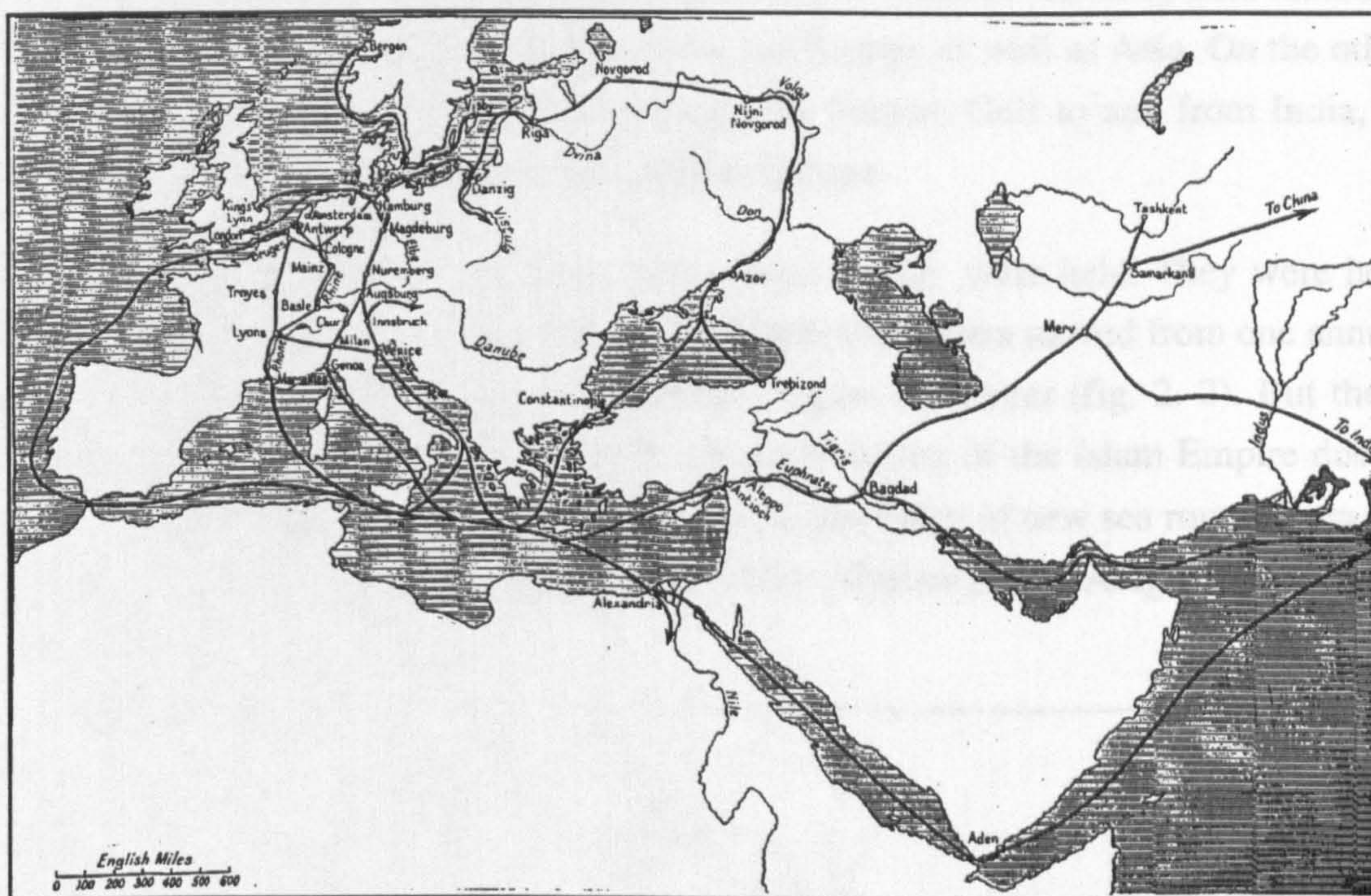


Fig 2. 1 Trade routes in the middle ages (Fisher, 1949, p. 257)

Fleets and caravans from all over the known world began to travel to Egypt in the west, to Asia and Europe in the north, and India in the south-east, where they established connections between neighbours to the north, south, east and west. As a result the use of Indian, Arabian, and African goods steadily increased and commercial relations with Arabia, and through Arabia with India and Africa on the one hand and with the Mediterranean countries and Europe on the other gradually became stronger.

Goods from India were dispatched by ship and arrived at one of the Arabian harbours, and were then transported by caravan to other parts of the Arabian Peninsula. The goods produced by Arabia Felix, and purchased by the south-western Arabs beyond the Bab-el-Mandib in Africa, either travelled across the Peninsula to the same harbour on the western coast of the Persian Gulf by ship and then to other parts of the Arabian Peninsula, or directly to the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. Another

set of important desert-routes was to Egypt. The south-western Arabs would send their own goods, the goods of India, and those of Africa, northwards along the eastern shore of the Red Sea and then across the Sinai peninsula to Egypt. Or the people on the western coast of the Persian Gulf would dispatch the same goods to the rich oasis of Tema in the heart of the Arabian Peninsula and from this oasis to one of the stations on the shore-route along the Red Sea to Egypt.

The result was, on the one hand, a network of caravan routes by land radiating out from Arabian Peninsula to Egypt, Syria and Europe as well as Asia. On the other hand, navigation trade routes either through the Persian Gulf to and from India, or through the Red Sea to Palestine and finally to Europe.

Along these land trade routes, the annual *aswaq* were held. They were held once a year at established times and place. People and traders moved from one annual *suq* to another in sequence, starting the cycle again each year (fig. 2. 2). But these annual *aswaq* were no longer held after the establishing of the Islam Empire due to many reasons; holy war, creation of large cities, discovery of new sea routes from the far east to the Mediterranean region, and finally pilgrimage (Al-Afaghani, 1960, pp. 208-209).

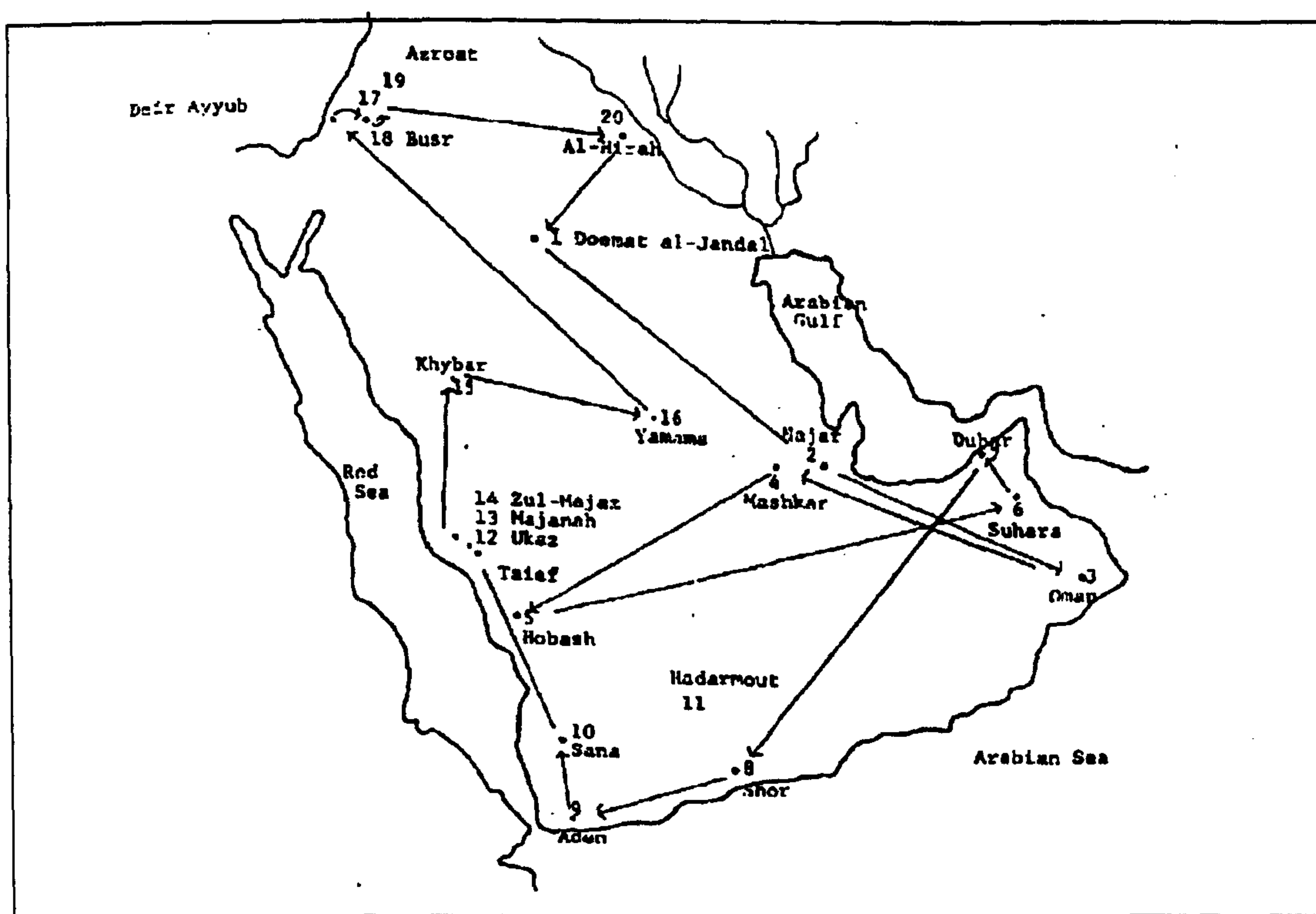


Fig.2.2 Annual *Aswaq* in the Arabian Peninsula and their chronological sequence (Salagoor, 1984, p.9)

To sum up, there were two main trade routes by land and two by sea in the Arabian Peninsula. The two trade routes by land were :

1- This extended from Oman to Iraq and ended in Syria (Damascus). Goods from Yemen , India and Persia were carried along it, and as traders passed the Yemeni, Iraqi, and Syrian *aswaq*, they sold what they had brought and purchased goods from each country (fig. 2. 3).

2- The second route was western, and extended from Yemen to Syria passing the cities of Hejaz region such Makkah and Jeddah and Almedinah. Along this route, traders took the goods from Yemen, India and Abyssinia to Hejaz and Syria, then they transferred Syrian goods to Yemen, and eventually imported their goods to India and Abyssinia (fig 2. 4).

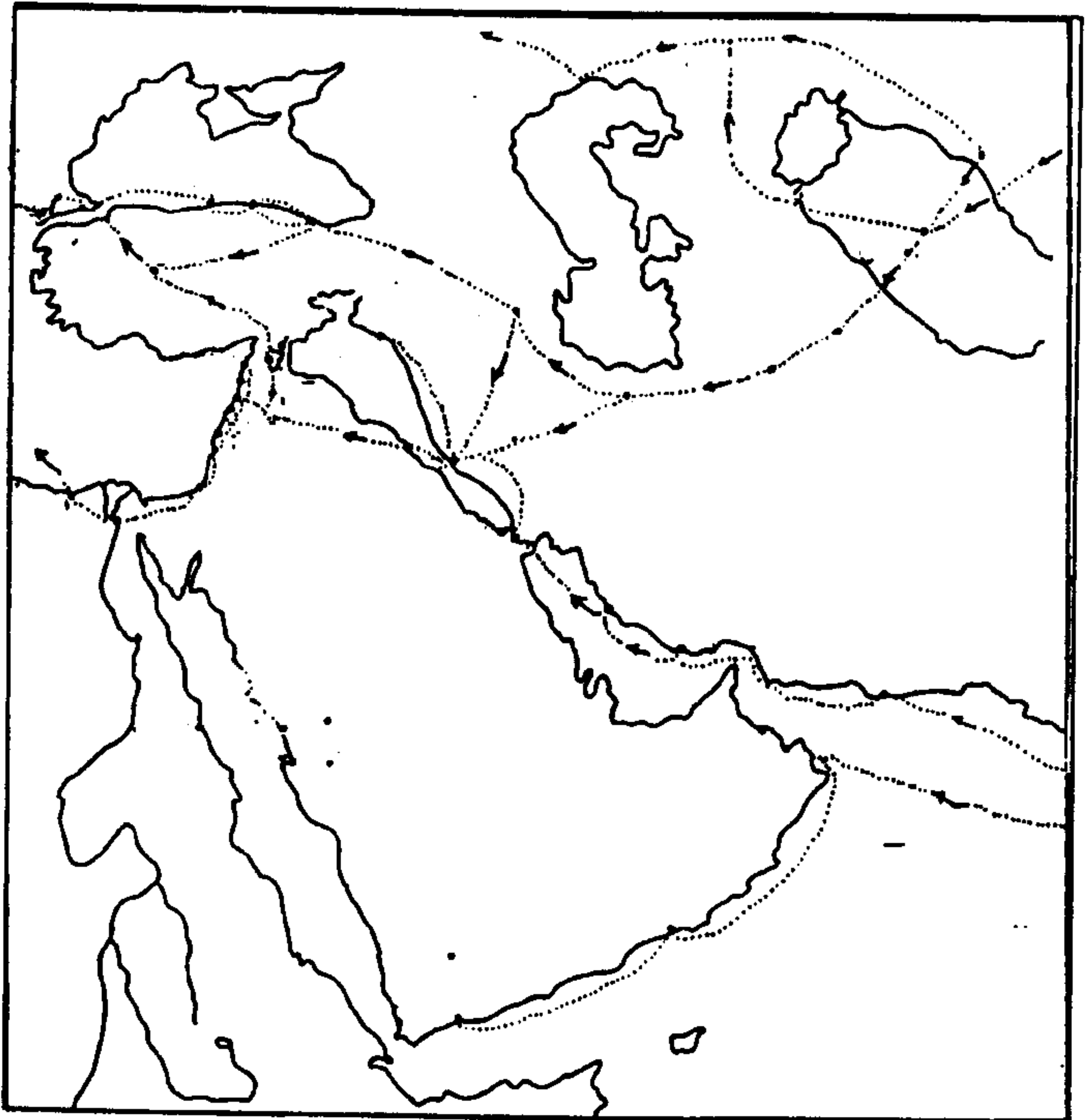


Fig. 2. 3 The first trade route - from China and India through Persian Gulf to the Arabian Peninsula, Middle of Asia and Mediterranean Countries

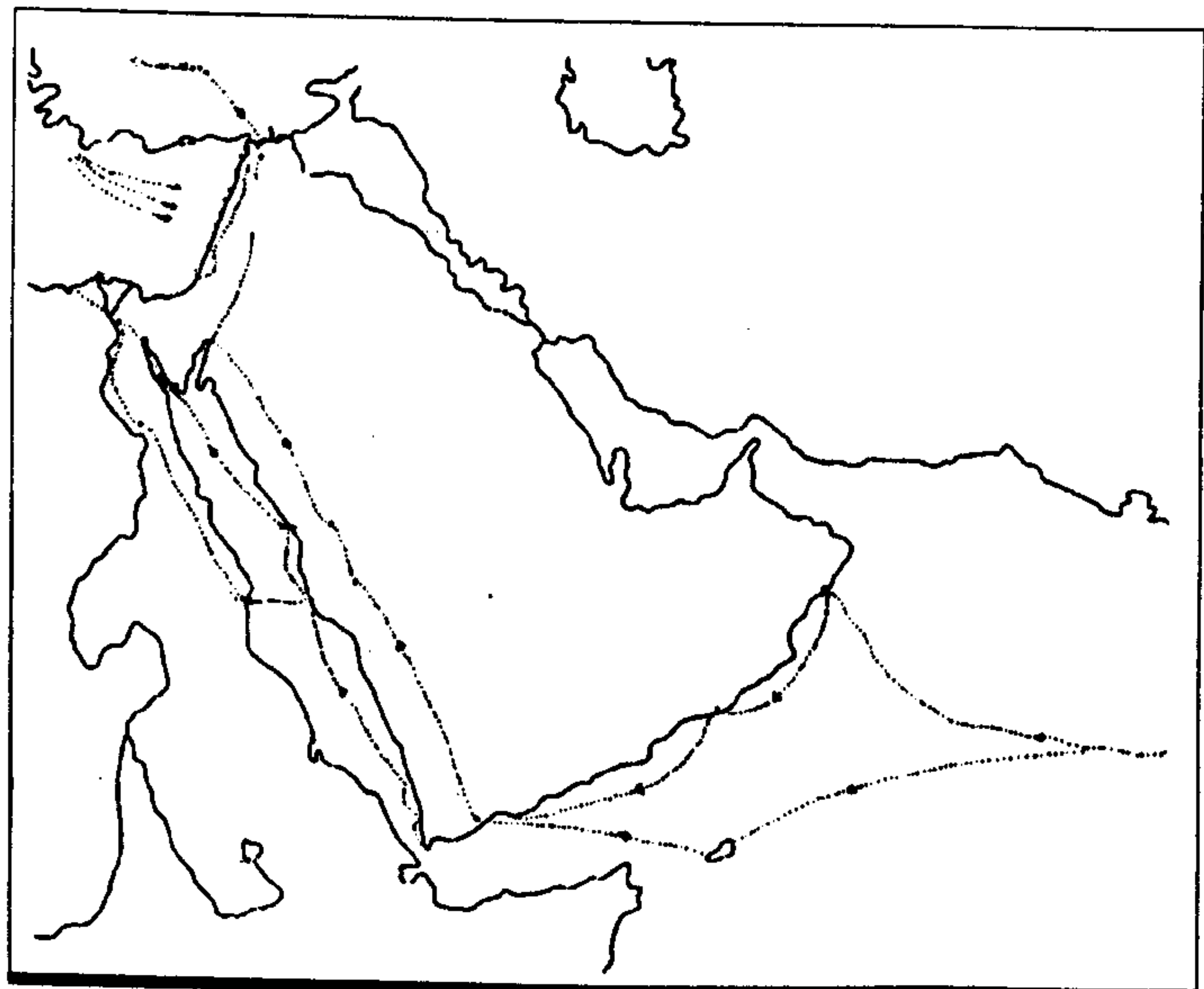


Fig. 2. 4 The second trade route - from China and India by the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea to Fertile Crescent and Egypt then to the Mediterranean countries-

The two trade routes by sea were :

1- Through the Persian Gulf. Goods from and to India were shipped through this route, and via the eastern land trade route. (fig 2. 3).

2- Through the Red Sea. Goods from and to the south western part of the Arabian Peninsula were shipped through the Red Sea to and from Egypt, Syria, and Europe. This sea trade route was parallel to the western land trade route (fig 2.4).

As we see earlier (fig.2.4), Jeddah is located in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula on the eastern coast of the Red Sea. This location is served by two trade routes, one of them by land and the other one by the sea. By this location Jeddah acquired a commercial importance through out history not only for Hejaz but for the regional trade. The trade routes were the main cause of existence of stations, *aswaq* and eventually cities as for example: Petra and Jerash in Jordan, Shaboh in South Yemen, Jerrah on the western coast of the Persian Gulf, and Jeddah.

2.2 Commercial history of Jeddah:

The city of Jeddah dates from pre-Islamic times. There were settlements and trade entrepots along the Red Sea during the era of the Nabateans in the second century BC. Many Arab geographers¹, as far back as the eighth century, referred to that by using the term "Juddah"² which means path or route. This name was given to the city because of its location along the seashore of the Red Sea and the land trade route, thus denoting its historic function.

Commercial prosperity of Jeddah began with the spread of Islam, at the same time when Makkah, as the main focal point of the Muslim World, became the centre of the annual pilgrimage. It became a great commercial and importing centre slightly before the mid seventh century. Jeddah's importance was established in 646 AD. by `Uthman, the third Caliph who was urged by the merchants of Makkah to use Jeddah

1- *Ibn al-Kalbi* [d. 819], in *Kitab al-Asnam*, Princeton Univ.press, 1952. - *Al-Azraqi* [d. 864], in *Akhbar Mecca*, Makkah, 1965. - *Al-ya`qubi* [d. 879], in *Kitab al-Buldan*, Iraq, 1962.

2- Etymologically, the name drives from either

1) Juddah Ibn Jamr was named after the place his tribe lived (2nd century) . Juddah was the descendants of Quda`ah which is said to be the second of Ma`ad Ibn Adnan, who was the 19th great-grandfather of the Prophet Mohammed. (Jwad Ali.). According to Ibn al-Kalbi (d.819), in his book *al-Asnam* (Idols), Cario, 1965 , there was an idol called S`ad worshipped by Malik and Milakan sons of Kinanah (who was the descendants of Adnan), located on the coast of Jeddah.

Or 2- Juddah, means the grandmother (in Arabic). This is based that Eve, the universal grandmother, was buried in the city, as the thirteenth century traveller Ibn al-Mujwar mentioned in his book, *Tarikh al-Mustabsir*, Leiden: Brill, 1954, p.52. Also Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890), an English scholar, who visited Jeddah in late 1853. described Eve's tomb in his book, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, 1893, p. 259-276.

as their port in place of the earlier port of al-*Shuaibah* ³, because it was much safer and closer to Makkah (Ibn Al-Mujawr, 1954, p.42).

Jeddah continued to flourish and prosper through the following centuries. By the tenth century, Arab historians and geographers⁴ like al-Muqaddasi (d. 985) reported that Jeddah was a truly flourishing commercial town whose inhabitants were wealthy and well-to-do traders, and whose customs and duties on imported merchandise constituted a considerable source of revenue to its rulers, the *Asharif* of Makkah. Persians⁵ dominated the trade of Jeddah.

Jeddah remained a flourishing and prosperous commercial centre until the twelfth century, due to various external and internal economic, political and military instabilities in the Islamic World, accompanied by wars. The Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin) was too preoccupied with the Crusaders to be able to resuscitate the economic activities of the Hejaz. But most likely, the immediate cause of the influence of Jeddah must be attributed to the subversive activities of the *Qaramatians*, a Muslim *Shi'ah* sect within Islam, who flourished in Iraq, Yemen, and Bahrain. This diverted the trade from the first trade route, the eastern one, to the western route through the Red Sea passing through Hejaz to Egypt then to Europe. So Hejaz in general and Jeddah in particular became increasingly vital to the trade movement between Egypt, Europe and India.

The fourteenth century, witnessed by Ibn Battuta in 1355 AD, brought with it another era of instability and disruptions in the Islamic World, when the Pagan Somalis seized the coast opposite to Jeddah from Muslims, and there was no government control in Hejaz because of conflicts between *Asharif* (Hejaz rulers). All these events combined to slow down the trade movement in the Red Sea, upon which the prosperity

³- *Shuaibah* is a small village on the Red Sea, about thirty Km south of present Jeddah. One of the earliest accounts of *al-shuaibah* was given by *al-Azaqi* (d. 864, *Akhbar Makkah*, Makkah stories, 1965, pp. 157-158) that *Shuaibah* was a sea port of Makkah by writing about the reconstruction of the *Ka'abah* shortly before Islam, he relates that Makkan tribe *Quraish*, anxious to repair the shrine after its destruction by flood, was able to obtain wood for it at *Shuaibah*, apparently a port. The wood came from an abandoned ship.

⁴- *al-Balkhi* and *al-Istakhri*

⁵- Persians were settled in Jeddah even before the destruction of Siraf in 977. This might be attributed to two reasons. First, many Persian pilgrims preferred to remain and settle permanently in Jeddah after completing their pilgrimage, as was often the case with pilgrims of various national origins. Second, it is quite conceivable that some Persians had settled in Jeddah even before the rise of Islam, after the Sassanian King Khosrow I (Anushirvan), who ruled between 531 and 579, had conquered Yemen in South Arabia. Persian Sirafis built Jeddah's wall. And they must have also constructed over three hundred cisterns in and around the town to secure their water-supply, which facilitated the later growth of this coastal settlement.

of Jeddah largely depended, and its population was reduced. Then by 1425, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, *Barsbay* established military control of Jeddah, seizing the protection of the Hejaz, the supervision of the pilgrimage and the control of the seaports of the Red Sea.

During the 15th century, the Portuguese became increasingly interested in the Eastern trade, and in the lands of spices. They discovered the Cape of Good Hope through the voyage of the explorer Bartolomeu Dias in 1488, opening thus the sea route to Asia from the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. The intervention of the Portuguese fleet into the eastern waters represented a serious threat to the Red Sea trade as well as the land routes to the Mediterranean via the Arabian Peninsula and Jeddah in particular. Furthermore, the Portuguese attacked⁶ the Red Sea ships and humiliated the pilgrims cruising to Jeddah. This made Muslim rulers of India, Southern Arabia and eastern Africa, enraged with the Portuguese. There were a few combats in the Indian Ocean between 1508 and 1509. Consequently, Jeddah became a base for attacks on the Portuguese fleet, where the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Gansuah Al-Ghuri (1501-1517), ordered Husayn Kurdi (one of the Jeddah' notables) to organise and command a fleet which was to be based in Jeddah's port. Husayn Kurdi became the governor of Jeddah latter under the sultan of Egypt, and built a formidable wall around Jeddah to fortify against Portuguese attacks. The wall was completed in 1511⁷.

In spite of the opening of the new India route, the trade remained active in the Red Sea under Ottoman protection and ships continued to anchor at Jeddah for transshipment of merchandise heading for Suez and the Mediterranean. The Ottoman Sultan Salim I ruled Egypt in 1517. They added to their dominion most of the Red Sea provinces, including the Hedjaz region.

By the 17th century, the Dutch and the English intervention in the eastern trade, led to a considerable decline in Jeddah's commercial activities. They followed the trade route to the East around the Cape. Thus, goods and merchandise, including spices, were shipped directly from their place of origin via the Cape route and directly to the European markets without passing through Jeddah and the Red Sea.

⁶- Vasco da Gama, in 1502 seized the cargo of a large Arab ship in southwest Asia, shut up its passengers (about 400 pilgrims going to Jeddah, including women and children) aboard the captured ship and set it afire, burning all on board.

⁷- This was obviously the second wall to be built around Jeddah, as we notice that the first wall presumably built by the Persians, had been mentioned by al-Muqaddasi in 985 and by Nasir-i Khosrow in 1050.

During the 19th century, Jeddah's commercial position increased for two reasons; the stability of the region under the control of the Ottoman Empire and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) which connects the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. The canal changed the trade route to Europe from the Cape back to the Red Sea, where the distance to Europe is shorter than the one around the Cape. Burckhardt described the commercial activities of Jeddah as having two principal branches: the coffee trade, and the Indian trade; with both branches being connected with the trade routes of Egypt. Ships laden with coffee arrived from Yemen all the year round, without being restricted to any particular season (Burckhardt, 1829, p.52).

Burckhardt also asserted that the trade with India was much safer than with other localities, and equally profitable. The fleets, principally from Calcutta, Surat, and Bombay, reach Jeddah in the beginning of May of each year. It was then that large sums of money were spent by the Egyptian merchants to purchase different commodities through their agents in Jeddah. The India fleets returned in June or July. In general the arrival of the merchants' ships was once a year, and within few weeks most of the profit was made and the accounts settled. In the coffee trade it was the reverse. At Jeddah, sales and purchases were made of entire ships' cargoes in the course of half an hour, and next day the money was paid down. The returns were made either in goods, which were disposed of chiefly in the Hejaz, or in dollars, large quantities of which were carried off annually by the Indian fleet. The coffee ships from Yemen took a few shipments of Egyptian manufacture in return, such as cotton and glass beads.

The number of ships belonging to Jeddah merchants were over two hundred and fifty ships so one can imagine the scale of the commercial activities that the *aswaq* in Jeddah had to handle each season. Everyone seems to have been involved in one sort of trading or another, even the crew of cargo ships - who received a certain salary for the voyage - were traders on their own account. People with humble capital were able to purchase goods in retail from the crews of such ships.

During the beginning of the 20th century, Jeddah witnessed commercial prosperity, the trade a steady increase. Immediately after World War II, Jeddah could be considered as a commercial centre not only in Saudi Arabia but in the Middle East, aided by the large oil revenues as well as by the substantially increasing number of pilgrims arriving at its port. The city began to expand rapidly in all possible directions.

Conclusion

From the historical description of the trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula, and the location of the city of Jeddah on one of these trade routes, we can see how the trade routes are considered the corner - stone of the existence of *aswaq* and cities. For example, as we have seen earlier , Jeddah was located on two trade routes - one by land and the other by sea. People urged Caliph `Uthman to shift Makkah' port from *sha`ibah* to Jeddah. Furthermore, we can trace from the commercial history of Jeddah that the trade route played an important role in the commercial prosperity of the city and of the *aswaq* in particular. The diversion of the trade route from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea route, the discovery of the Cape of the Good Hope, and finally the opening the Suez Canal, are indications of the importance of the trade routes to *aswaq* and cities. To sum up, as the exchange between the different cultures in form of trade or knowledge emerged, the caravan and trade routes for these caravans were established. Consequently, the caravans need stations to rest depending on the means of transport whether by land or by sea. Several of these stations established by the trade routes of the caravans later grew into cities.

As a result of the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the trade, in *aswaq* of the city of Jeddah as well as in the whole area of the Middle East and Islamic World, developed rapidly. Traditional *aswaq* reached the greatest level of trading in the period from the late 19th century until World War II. However, they still survived in the city of Jeddah as in many Islamic cities. The study of the traditional *aswaq* in this research will focus in this period for the first part of the thesis, while the second part will deal with the transformation of some aspects of the traditional *aswaq* during the 1970's.

CHAPTER THREE

**THE SOCIO-CULTURAL
SYSTEM REGULATING
COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES**

CHAPTER THREE:

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SYSTEM REGULATING COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

" Islam has one universal theory which covers the universe and life and humanity, a theory in which are integrated all the different questions; in this Islam sums up all its beliefs, its laws and statutes, and its modes of worship and of work. The treatment of all these matters emanates from this one universal and comprehensive theory, so that each question is not dealt with on an individual basis, nor is every problem with its needs treated in isolation from all other problems."

(Sayed Kotb, 1953, p.17)

Islam, for the Muslim, is an all-inclusive philosophy, that provides the explanation for every aspect of life, by reference to its law. Islam's commentators have always stressed both its inner harmony and universality. Every aspect of the traditional Islamic life has to follow the Islamic law, *shari`ah* . The *shari`ah* is derived from the following, which are the basic resources for Islamic thought; the Quran, *Sunnah* (the Prophet's sayings and acts), *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) and *ijm`a* (consensus of the religious scholars; "*ulama* "). These are, in turn, supplemented by some secondary sources such as *istihsan* (preference for the better), *istislah or masalih* (consideration of public interest), *darurah* (necessity).

Islamic economics, like other aspects (political, legal) of traditional Islamic society, is the study of man- not an isolated individual but a social individual- having faith in Islamic values. In Islamic economics, the individual must take into account the injunctions of *shari`ah* in pursuing his activities. Social welfare is maximised by allocating economic resources within the framework of *shari`ah* so that it is impossible for any individual to become better off at the expense of others. Anything which is not expressly prohibited in the *shari`ah* but is consistent with its spirit can be styled as Islamic.

In this chapter, I will analyse the religious and social context of commercial activities in traditional Islamic society. In other words, I will describe the basic principles of the economy, and the *shari`ah* codes governing commercial transactions. Then, I will show how the political influence, lifestyle, norms and habits, shape commercial activities.

3.1 The Socio-Cultural:

3.1.1 The Religious Context:

Principles of Islamic Economics

The Islamic economy is based on the notion of vicegerency or delegation (*istikhlaf*), which is derived from the cardinal Islamic principle of *Tawhid*. Allah is the Lord of all beings. Accordingly, ownership in Islam belongs to Allah, Who entrusted man with all wealth on earth with a view to exploiting it according to Allah's will. Private ownership is recognised by Islam but only as a delegation from the original Lord to His agent man. Thus, man cannot dispose of whatever is in his possession without restrictions, or in a manner conflicting with the terms marked out by the Lord. Private ownership is not a social function, nor is natural wealth the property of society. All wealth belongs to Allah alone and private ownership is only a resemblance of the expression.

So, the Islamic economic system is based on the belief that action in every field of human activity, including the economy, is spiritual as long as it is in harmony with the goals and values of Islam. It is these goals and values that determine the nature of the economic system of Islam. These major goals and values are: economic well-being within the framework of the major norms of Islam, universal brotherhood and justice, equitable distribution of income, and freedom of the individual within the context of social welfare.

Therefore, one of the main objectives of Islamic economics is to satisfy the basic needs of life for all the members of society including those who may be incapacitated or handicapped in one way or another. However, if a man is capable of work, possessing a healthy mind in a healthy body, but nevertheless refuses to engage himself in productive activity, the society and the state should not support him until he is compelled to work for himself. If a man is incapable of work, the society and state shall help and support him in the form of *zakat* (alms giving) and *sadagah* (charity).

Thus, it is a Muslim obligation to work if one is able. It is not permitted for the Muslim to avoid working for a living on the excuse of devoting his life to worship or trust in Allah. It is also not permissible for him to depend on charity while he is able to earn what is sufficient for his own and his family's needs through his own efforts. In this regard, the Prophet (peace be on him) has said,

"Sadaqah may not be given to a rich man or to one who has strength and is sound in limbs."

(Abu Dawud, 1630)¹

"It is better for anyone of you to take a rope (and cut) and bring a bundle of wood (from the forest) over his back and sell it and Allah will save his face (from the Hell-Fire) because of that, rather than to ask the people who may give him or not."

(Al-Bukhari, 2.550)

Ibn Abbas said, "David was a maker of coats of mail and shields, Adam was a farmer, Noah a carpenter, Idris a tailor, and Moses a shepherd. Since every prophet of Allah had some occupation, the Muslim should derive satisfaction in his occupation or profession". A *hadith* states:

"Nobody has ever eaten a better meal than that which one has earned by working with one's own hands. The Prophet of Allah, David (may Allah be pleased with him) used to eat from the earnings of his manual labour."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.286)

The Prophet (peace be on him), by his words and deeds, taught Muslims that honour belongs to those who work, and not to those who sit unemployed and are parasites, and encouraged, indeed, urged Muslims to engage in trade and commerce. Among some of his sayings are the following:

"The merchants will be raised on the Day of Resurrection as evildoers, except those who fear Allah, are honest and speak the truth."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2799)

Thus, the true believers are not those who remain in the mosques, nor the mystics isolated in their places of retreat. The true Believers are those who work for their living and do not forget their religious obligation.

The second objective of the Islamic economic system is a reward in the form of extra comfort to the successful members of society for their superior skill and enterprise. The assumption of this objective is that if a man is given the opportunity of applying his intelligence and physical abilities to economic activity, he will always be able to produce at least enough to satisfy his basic needs for life. Therefore, more

¹ - I would like to remind readers that the reference for *Ahadith* (prophet's saying) is (Reference Source, Hadith Number), and for the quranic verses is (Chapter Number, Verse Number) according to the databases of Al-Quran and Al-Hadith, published by The Islamic Computing Centre, London.

production means more satisfaction in the form of merit and gain. The production could be by agriculture, trade, or industry or by any profession or employment as long as it does not involve doing, supporting, or producing anything *haram* (prohibited).

Thus, Muslims must develop other activities like industries, crafts, and professions, which are essential for the prosperity of society. As the great scholars and jurists have explained, the essential industries and professions are not merely permitted by the Islamic *Shari'ah*, they are in fact an obligation on the Muslim society as a whole. Such obligations are termed "the obligations of sufficiency" (*fard kifayah*); that is to say, the Muslim society must include among its members people engaged in every essential science, industry, and profession in numbers sufficient to meet its needs. If there is a shortage of qualified persons in some field of essential science or industry, the entire Muslim society is blameworthy, especially those in positions of authority. Imam al-Ghazzali (d. 505 /1111) says:

"Sciences whose knowledge is deemed *fard kifayah* comprise every area which is indispensable for the welfare of this world, such as the following: medicine, which is necessary for the life of the body; arithmetic, for daily transactions and the division of legacies and inheritances, as well as others besides. These are the sciences without which, because of their absence, a community would be reduced to narrow straits. But should one who can practise them arise in the community, it would suffice, and the obligation to acquire their knowledge would cease to be binding upon the rest of the community.

No one should be surprised when we say that medicine as well as arithmetic are of the sciences which are *fard kifayah*, as are the basic industries, such as agriculture, weaving, politics, and even tailoring. For if a town should lack a copper, extinction would overtake its people and they would be driven to expose themselves to destruction. Has not He Who has sent down the malady also sent down the remedy, given guidance for its use, and prepared the means for administering it? It is not, therefore, permissible to expose oneself to destruction by neglecting the remedy."

(Al-Ghazzali, 1966,p.37)

Apart from the above mentioned objectives, Islam furnishes a specific set of principles, some positive and others prohibitive, meant to guide action. These principles² can be summarised in the following:

2- That is, each principle considered as a field of Islamic economic science. Many books have been published about them like *zakat* (alms giving), *sadagah* (charity), *riba* (usury), and so on.

1. The payment of the *zakat* is an alms-giving duty amounting to 2.5 percent annually on income and savings. Ten percent is due on an agricultural harvest if irrigation was at no cost and no effort to the farmer; otherwise, only 5 percent is due. Unlike modern taxation *zakat* is a flat rate and does not increase at a progressive scale. Equity is achieved by encouraging voluntary charities. Moreover, in case of need, the state may levy more taxes on the richer.
2. The maintenance costs for certain categories of relatives must be paid particularly for one's wife, needy parent, and female children until they marry.
3. One has an obligation to provide charitable assistance to one's kin, to one's neighbours, to orphans, and to the needy.
4. Working hard to earn one's own living and the living of dependants is highly praised.
5. Workers, manufacturers, and administrators should exert the utmost effort to make their product as perfect as possible.
6. The conditions laid down in the *Shari`ah* law for the validity of business and financial transactions must be fulfilled. These laws make the transfers of goods safe and easy, and facilitate the conclusion of economic transactions between the contracting parties.
7. Pledges, trusts, and terms concluded with other parties must be kept.
8. Estates of deceased persons must be distributed among their heirs and must be respected as laid down in the Qurān. A person may not make a will which deprives one of his heirs or which favours one heir over another, nor may he make a will involving more than one-third of his estate (the remaining two third left to his heirs).
9. Usury is among the serious sins and all usurious practices should be avoided.
10. There must be respect for other people's property and abstinence from unproductive malpractice, profiteering activities, deceiving, gambling, hoarding, monopoly, and the like. Earning through expediency and manipulation of the law is not legitimate.

Consequently, the economic society is, by these principles, like an organic body in which each cell grows and contributes to the well-being of the other cells.

***Shari`ah* Codes of Transactions.**

Individuals in any society are in a state of dependence upon one another. Each individual does not own all the things he needs; one person has something which he can spare while at the same time he may need something which others have and which they can spare. Exchanging goods and utilities through buying and selling transactions makes social and economic life function smoothly and encourages people to be productive.

In Islam, business transactions are codified by *shari`ah* . Islam approved and confirmed such types of transactions which do not conflict with the principles of the *shari`ah* and disapproved and prohibited those business practices which were against the purposes and aims of the *shari`ah* .

According to Imam Ghazali (d. in 1111), a Muslim who makes up his mind to adopt trade as a profession or to set up his own business should first acquire a complete understanding of the rules of business transactions codified in the Islamic *Shari`ah*. Without such understanding he will go wrong and fall into serious faults making his earning unlawful. In regards to this, Caliph Umar laid stress on a clear understanding of the rules and laws governing business transactions as a necessary prerequisite to adopting trade or business as a profession. He said,

" Nobody sells in our *sug* except the one who recognises
jurisprudence in Islam "

(Al-Tirmadhi, 1.304)

The conditions of manoeuvring in Islamic commercial transactions:

1) The things sold and the money to be offered in payment should both be lawfully acquired and clearly specified. This condition demands that the goods sold should have been lawfully obtained. One has no business to sell goods which one has stolen or acquired in a fraudulent manner; nor should one purchase anything with money which one has accepted as illegal gratification or has acquired in some other deceitful way. This condition holds the buyer and seller responsible for lawful possession of the goods on the part of one and of the money on the part of other. Also, this condition is to combat crime and to confine the criminal within a very narrow sphere of activity. The Prophet (peace be on him) said ,

If anyone buys a garment for ten dirhams among which is one unlawfully acquired, Allah Most High will not accept prayer from him as long as he wears it. (Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2789)

2). Goods are not to be sold before obtaining their possession. The Prophet (peace be on him) has warned Muslims against allowing any forward transactions which means selling goods before obtaining their possession. "Whoever buys cereals shall not sell them until he has obtained their possession," says the Prophet (peace be on him). According to Ibn Abbas, what applies to cereals also applies to other categories of goods. On another occasion the Prophet (peace be on him) said : "Bargain not about that which is not with you."

The Prophet (peace be on him) forbade any kind of transaction which could lead to a quarrel or litigation due to some uncertainty or which involved an unspecified quantity to be exchanged or delivered. This includes the sort of transaction in which there is no guarantee that the seller can deliver the goods for which he receives payment. Accordingly, the Prophet (peace be on him) forbade accepting money for fish in the water or birds in the air which one has not caught, or for the offspring of a camel still in the female's womb, since there is an element of uncertainty as to the outcome in all such transactions.

Similarly, when selling unripened produce which it is still in the fields, if the crop is destroyed by blight or some natural calamity, the buyer and seller would disagree over who is to bear the loss. Hence, the Prophet (peace be on him) prohibited the sale of fruit until it was clearly in good condition, unless it was picked on the spot. Also, he forbade selling ears of corn until they were white and safe from blight;

Tawus narrated that ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Messenger (peace_be_upon_him) forbade the selling of foodstuff before its measuring and transferring into one's possession." I asked ibn Abbas, "How is that?" Ibn Abbas replied, "It will be just like selling money for money, as the foodstuff has not been handed over to the first purchaser who is the present seller."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.342)

There is no divorce except in what you possess; there is no possession, there is no sale transaction till you possess. The narrator Ibn as-Sabbah added: There is no fulfilling a vow till you possess.

(Abu Dawud, 2185)

On the other hand, the Muslim is allowed to make an advance payment of a specified price for a specified quantity of merchandise to be delivered at a fixed time in the future. This type of transaction was prevalent in Madinah when the Prophet (peace be on him) arrived, and he introduced certain changes and conditions in this type of transaction in order to bring it into conformity with the Islamic *Shari`ah*. Ibn Abbas

narrated, "When Allah's Messenger (peace be on him) came to Madinah, they were paying one and two years in advance for fruit, but he then said,

"Whoever pays money in advance for dates (to be delivered later) should pay it for known specified weight and measure (of the dates)."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.441)

This limitation of specifying the measure or weight and time removes uncertainty and misunderstanding. Similar to this was the practice of paying in advance for the fruit of a certain number of palm trees, which the Prophet (peace be on him) has prohibited because of the possibility of unforeseen losses due to blight. The proper form of advance trade is therefore to specify the measure of weight, rather than selling the fruits of a certain number of trees or the crop of a certain acreage of some field. However, such a transaction is *haram* if the owner of the trees or the land farm is clearly being exploited because he needs money.

3). Goods to be bought in the open market. Goods and commodities for sale should go into the open market, and the seller or his agents must be aware of the state of the market before proposals are made for the purchase by the buyers. The seller should not be taken unawares to prevent the buyers taking undue advantage of his ignorance of the conditions and prices prevailing in the market.

For example, the Prophet (peace be on him) prohibited a townsman's selling on behalf of a man from the desert. Scholars have explained the situation in the following manner: a stranger would bring some goods to be sold in town at the current market price. A townsman would approach him, saying, "Leave them with me for a while. I will sell them for you when the price is better." Had the non-resident himself sold his goods, he would have done so for a lower price, thereby benefiting the people, while he himself would have made a reasonable profit³. The Prophet (peace be on him) said,

"The townsman should not sell for a man from the desert; leave the people alone; Allah will give them provision from one another."

(Muslim, 3630)

³-This sort of practice was very common among the Arab society when Islam came. Anas said, "Sale by a resident on behalf of a desert-dweller was prohibited to us, even though he might be a blood brother", (reported by al-Bukhari and Muslim.) From this we learn that for the Muslim the public interest takes precedence over personal relationships.

Nevertheless, if someone were to inform the man from the desert about the prices, proffering him that good advise is part of the religion; in fact, a sound *hadith* states,

" Religion is the giving of good advise and, If someone asks your advice, advise him"

(Muslim 1630))

However, with regard to the broker, it is quite probable that, in a situation such as that described above, he might neglect the public interest for the sake of his own profit. Brokerage is permissible, since it is a sort of mediation and connection between the buyer and the seller, which in many cases facilitates a profitable transaction for at least one or both of them.

Middlemen have become more necessary than at any time in the past because of the complexities of trade and commerce, which involves all types of exports and imports, and wholesale and retail sales and purchases; brokers play a very important role in keeping things moving. There is nothing wrong, therefore, with the broker's charging a commission for his services. The commission may be a fixed amount or proportional to the volume of sales, or whatever is agreed upon among the parties involved.

Scholars Ibn Sirin, `Ata, Ibrahim, and Hassn , saw nothing wrong with commissions charged by brokers. Ibn `Abbas said, ' There is no harm if one person says to another, " Sell this robe, and if you sell it for more than such and such a price, you may keep the extra amount. " Ibn Sirin said, ' There is nothing wrong if one person says to another, " Sell it for this price and keep the profit, or the profit will be shared between you and me." The Prophet (peace be on him) said,

"The Muslims must abide by their terms."

(Al-Bukhari,3.879)

Price manipulation was also forbidden in the *suq*. In Islam the market is to be free and permitted to respond to the natural laws of supply and demand. Thus, when the prices became high in the Prophet's time and people asked him to fix prices for them, he replied,

"It is but Allah Who makes the prices low and high. I hope that when I meet Allah, none of you has any claim on me for doing wrong regarding blood or property."

(Abu Dawud, 3443)

However, if any artificial forces, such as hoarding and manipulation of prices by certain merchants, interfere in the free market, public interest takes precedence over the freedom of such individuals. In such a situation price control becomes admissible in order to meet the needs of society and to protect it from greedy opportunists by contradicting their schemes, for the above *hadith* does not mean that price control is prohibited, even if it removes harm and prevents obvious injustice. This depends on the nature of the circumstances, price control may at times be unjust and prohibited, and at other times may be just and permissible.

For example, if price control forces people to sell their goods at a price which is not acceptable to them or denies them the reasonable profit permitted by Allah, it is *haram*. If, on the other hand, price control establishes equity among people, for example, by forcing sellers to accept a price equal to that commanded by other comparable commodities and limiting them from taking more than this, it is allowed—indeed necessary.

The *hadith* cited above relates to the first type of situation. Accordingly, if merchants are selling a commodity in the customary fashion without any wrong-doing on their part and the price subsequently rises due to the lack of the commodity or due to an increase in population (indicating the operation of the law of supply and demand), this circumstance is from Allah, in which case to force them to sell the commodity at a fixed price would be unjust compulsion.

In relation to the second type of situation, should the dealers in a commodity refuse to sell despite the fact that people are in need of it, unless they secure a price higher than its known value, they must be compelled to sell it at a price equal to the price of an equivalent commodity. Price control here means nothing more than establishing comparable prices for equivalent commodities and it is therefore in conformity with the standard of justice demanded by Allah.

4). No trade and traffic in things, the use of which is prohibited by Islam. A Muslim can trade in those goods and commodities only the use of which has been declared to be *Halal* (lawful). There can be no trade and traffic in things the use of which is prohibited by Islam. For example, there can be no trade in wine, swine, dead bodies of animals and idols. The Prophet (peace be on him) said :

"Allah and His Messenger made illegal the trade of alcoholic liquors, dead animals, pigs and idols." The people asked, "O Allah's Messenger! What about the fat of dead animals, for it

was used for greasing the boats and the hides; and people use it for lights?" He said, "No, it is illegal."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.438)

Prohibited forms of transactions

1). Monopoly Business:

As we mentioned before, Islamic economics should achieve the maximum social advantage. Therefore, any economic activity which is likely to stand in the way of achieving this objective cannot be styled as Islamic. As monopoly means concentration of supply in one hand, it leads to exploitation of the consumers and the workers. It has, therefore, been declared unlawful by the Prophet (peace be on him). The monopoly-dominated economic order reveals lack of harmony between private and social good and is, thus, a negation of the principle of maximum social advantage which the Islamic society sets out to achieve.

Because the monopolist generally charges a higher price for his output, the question of exploitation is very much connected with the idea of monopoly. The competitive producer maximises his profit by equalising marginal cost price. Since the price is given, he would go on producing more and more until his marginal cost becomes equal to price. In the case of the monopolist, however, the marginal revenues are not equal to but are always less than the price. Since the demand for this product is less than perfectly elastic, the monopolist can hope to sell increasing output at lower prices. His total revenue is increased if he produces more because the price of the additional unit will decline because all the previous units of his output will have to be sold at a lower price. The marginal revenue may, therefore, be easily negative even though the price is positive. The price is known as average revenue (total revenue divided by total output). The marginal revenue is, therefore, less than the average revenue.

Since the most advantageous situation for the monopolist is represented by that volume of output at which marginal cost is equal to marginal revenue, the monopolist will find it profitable to stop production before the marginal revenue becomes negative. Since marginal revenue will remain lower than average (price), production of optimum output is not possible. This may ultimately lead to under utilization of resources and creation of unemployment.

2). Speculative business:

As in the case of monopoly, Islam has also condemned speculative business. I mean essentially the phenomenon of buying something cheap at one time and selling the same thing dearer at another time. When the future price is expected to be higher than the present price speculative buyers purchase with a view to selling at a higher price in the future. Similarly, if the future price is expected to be lower than the present, speculators will sell now in order to avoid selling at a lower price in future. Speculators, it is claimed, give great benefit to consumers and manufacturers, since the effect of their activities is not to smooth out all price differences and to raise present price to the level of future price.

In so far as speculation renders social service by helping production and controlling the sudden fluctuation of prices, it is in conformity with the spirit of Islam, but the fact is that speculators are primarily interested in private gains regardless of the larger interests of society. Since perfect speculation tends to destroy itself, most speculators, by adopting unfair means, try to create artificial lack of goods and commodities and thereby create an inflationary pressure on the economy. The poor masses have to pay for it. From the view of beneficence Islam has condemned such speculative practices. Thus it is related to the authority of the Prophetic saying,

" He who hoards is a sinner. It was said to Sa'id (bin al-Musayyib): You also hoard. Sa'id said: Ma'mar who narrated this hadith also hoarded."

(Muslim, 3910)

Omar Ibn Khatab reported that the Prophet (peace be on him) said that the one who imports grain from the outside and sells at the market rate his maintenance is blessed, while he who withholds grain from sale in view of estimated dearness in future, he is thrown away from God's pleasure. Thus withholding of grain and other commodities to raise their price artificially, as well as *Najsh* or deceiving a purchaser through a third party offering a higher price is prohibited

Allah's Messenger (peace be on him) forbade the selling of things by a town dweller on behalf of a desert dweller; and similarly ` Najsh ' was forbidden. And one should not urge somebody to return the goods to the seller so as to sell him his own goods; nor should one demand the hand of a girl who has already been engaged to someone else; and a woman should not try to cause some other woman to be divorced in order to take her place.

(al-Bukhari, 3.350)

But auction or open sale of the highest offer is allowed in Islam. Islam has tried to discourage speculative business by treating it as a moral issue.

3). Interest transactions.

All transactions involving interest are forbidden in Islam. Capital invested in trade brings an excess called profit; invested in banking it brings interest. Trade involves risk of loss. Also in its case, it is not only capital invested that brings profit which is equally the result of initiative, enterprise and efficiency of the entrepreneur. Hence its rate cannot be predetermined and fixed. Moreover, trade is productive. A person gets a benefit after undergoing labour and difficulty. It creates conditions of full employment and economic growth. It will also be noted that trade acts as one of the dominant factors in the process of building up civilisation through co-operation and mutual exchange of ideas.

The difference between the two -interest and profit- from the economic point of view, are ∴

a) It is risk-taking which differentiates trade from interest. Risk-taking is the basis of normal trade which is allowed in Islam, while interest is fixed and does not fluctuate like profit.

b) When capital invested in trade brings profit, it is the result of initiative, enterprise and efficiency. This is not true in the case of interest, because the creditor gets for himself a definite amount of money for his loan regardless of loss or profit to debtors or investors.

c) In trade the moment a commodity is exchanged for its price the transaction comes to an end. The purchaser does not give anything after that transaction to the vendor. But in interest dealing, the creditor does not cease to demand his interest (as long as the principal is not returned). Therefore, there is a limit to the profit which one may expect from trade but there is no such limitation in the case of interest due to creditors.

d) Since trade is productive and a person derives benefit after undergoing labour, hardship and skill, it creates the conditions of full employment and economic growth. In fact, interest both initiates and provokes crises which trade does not.

e) Trade may act as one of the dominant factors in the process of the building of civilisation through co-operation and mutual exchange of ideas. But interest creates in man the undesirable weakness of miserliness, selfishness and lack of sympathy. Thus, from the economic and ethical point of view, interest uproots the very foundations of humanity and mutual help and stands in the way of full employment and economic growth. But trade in an Islamic state is an advantage to society.

In that case, the Prophet (peace be on him) declared war on interest making-usury- and those who deal in it. He pointed out its dangers to society, saying,

"A dirham which a man knowingly receives in usury is more serious than thirty-six acts of fornication." Ibn Abbas's version adds that he said, "Hell is more fitting for him whose flesh is nourished by what is unlawful."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2825)

As a result, the rich become richer and the poor poorer, creating socio-economic classes in society separated by wide gulfs. Naturally this generates envy and hatred among the poor toward the rich, and disrespect and apathy among the rich toward the poor. Conflicts arise, the socio economic fabric is rent, revolutions are born, and social order is threatened. Peace and stability are in danger which is one of the main goals of Islam as we mentioned before.

It is permissible to buy on credit by mutual consent. The Prophet (peace be on him) bought some grain from a Jew, to be paid for at a specific time, pledging his coat of mail as security (Al-Bukhari, 3.282).

There is another practice of interest and usury which is the current insurance phenomenon. The idea of the insurance companies contradicts the decree of fate and divine will as well as practicing usury. In contrast, the Islamic system has already insured the Muslims' and others. This provision is accomplished either through mutual help among individuals or through the government and its treasury.

In the Islamic *shari'ah* we find that a person who is rendered destitute due to a calamity is permitted to ask for financial help, particularly from the administrative authorities, until he is fully compensated or is able to stand on his own feet again. We also find the concept of insurance for the heirs of a deceased person in the Prophet's saying,

"I am nearer to every believer than himself, so if anyone leaves a debt or a helpless family, I shall be responsible, but if anyone

leaves property, it goes to his heirs. I am patron of him who has none, inheriting his property and freeing him from his liabilities. A maternal uncle is patron of him who has none, inheriting his property and freeing him from his liabilities."

(Abu Dawud, 2894)

It means that they are the responsibility of the Islamic government.

Moreover Islam has legislated for its followers among those deserving to receive *zakat* funds related to the category of *gharirmeen* (those in debt). Some of the early interpreters of the word "*gharirmeen*" say it denotes one whose house has burned down, or whose property or trade has been destroyed by flood or other disasters. Some jurists hold that such a person may be given, from the *zakat* fund, an amount which would restore his previous financial position.

4) Transactions similar (in nature) to gambling.

The Arabic equivalent to gambling is *Maisir* which literally means " getting something too easily "getting a profit without working for it." The literal meaning of the term explains the principle on account of which gambling is prohibited in Islam. Any monetary gain which comes too easily, so much so that one does not have to work for it, is unlawful.

The most familiar form of gambling among the Arabs in the days of the Prophet (peace be on him) was gambling by the casting of lots by means of arrows drawn from a bag. Some were blank and those who drew them got nothing. Others indicated prizes-big or small ones. Whether one got anything or not depended on pure luck, unless there was fraud on the part of someone concerned. The principle on which objection to gambling is based is that you gain what you have not earned, or lose on a mere chance. Dice, lottery, prize bonds and betting on horse races are within the definition of gambling.

5) Fraudulent forms of transactions:

Islam recognises barter trade subject to the injunctions of the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. In fact, Islam has closed all doors of dishonesty and deceit in business dealings. It has prohibited all forms of transactions which admit fraud in the least degree. It has impressed on the traders that defective and worthless goods should not be given in exchange for good ones, and if there is a defect in the goods sold it must be pointed out and made known to the purchaser. The Prophet (peace be on him) said:



Allah's Messenger (peace_be_upon_him) said, "Both the buyer and the seller have the option of cancelling or confirming the bargain, as long as they are still together, and unless they separate or one of them gives the other the option of keeping or returning the things and a decision is concluded then, in which case the bargain is considered as final. If they separate after the bargain and none of them has rejected it, then the bargain is rendered final."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.325)

a) *Munabadha* and *Mulamasa*:

Islam has banned two forms of sales contract that were prevalent before Islam. In neither of these was the purchaser offered an opportunity to examine the thing purchased. *Munabadha* means that the seller should throw the cloth to the buyer before he has carefully examined it. The very act of throwing the cloth will mean that the bargain has been struck. *Mulamasa* means touching the cloth without examining it, i.e. the buyer was just supposed to touch the cloth to strike the bargain. Both these forms of transaction were prohibited because in either case the purchaser had no opportunity to examine the things sold to him, and the bargain was likely to prove unduly disadvantageous to one side.

As mentioned above, Islam tries to be fair to both parties in a transaction. Any act on the part of one, that is advantageous to him and disadvantageous to the other, is not permissible. The seller is expected to make the defects (if any) of the goods known to the buyer, nor is the buyer expected to take undue advantage of the ignorance of the seller.

b) *Muzabana*.

This is the exchange of fresh fruit for dry ones in a way that the quantity of the dry fruit is actually measured and fixed, but the quantity of the fresh fruit to be given in exchange is guessed while it is still on the trees. The Prophet (peace be on him) has forbidden this exchange because the quantity of the fruit on the trees cannot be definitely determined and the transaction is just a leap into the dark.

c) *Mu'awama*.

This consists of selling the fruit on the trees for a period of one, two or three years even before it has made its appearance. It is prohibited because like *Muzabana* it is also a leap into the dark. Such transactions may result in bitterness and frustration.

d) *Bai` al-Gharar*.

This is to sell a thing which one does not have in one's possession, nor expects to bring under one's control, e g. fish in the river, or birds in the air. Possession is one of the basic conditions of a sale. One cannot sell a thing which is not in one's possession.

e) *Bai` al-'Uryan*.

This is getting a thing against a nominal advance on the condition that if the bargain is struck, the advance will be adjusted and if the bargain is cancelled the seller will not return the advance. The advance being nominal, the buyer has practically no liability. He will abide by the contract if he finds it advantageous to him and will withdraw himself from it otherwise.

f) *Bai` al-Mudhtar*.

This is to buy a thing forcibly or to purchase a thing when its owner is compelled under stress of want to dispose of it. Instead of purchasing the thing, and taking undue advantage of the seller's helplessness, one should help him.

g) *Bai` 'alal-Bai`* (sale over and above the sale of another).

When one person has sold goods to another, a third person should not upset the bargain by trying to sell his own goods to the latter, offering them at lower rates or pointing out the defects in the goods already sold to him by the former. "A Muslim should not purchase in opposition to his brother, nor should he send a marriage proposal over and above the proposal of another."

h) *Bai` al-Ḥasat* (i.e. sale by means of pebbles).

The purchaser will tell the seller that when he throws a pebble on his goods, the sale contract will be confirmed or the seller should tell the purchaser that on whatever thing a pebble thrown by him falls will be sold to him. A sale contract is a serious matter and it should not be accomplished by such hit-and-miss methods like throwing pebbles on goods. A sale completed in this way may lead to injustice and hardship to one side and is consequently prohibited.

i) Sale of unripe fruit and unripe corn.

The Prophet (peace be on him), according to Imam Anas (Allah be pleased with him), has prohibited the sale of grapes before they become dark and that of the corn before it ripens. Similarly, he has forbidden the sale of raw dates. The fruit of the date-palms should not be sold until it becomes red or yellow.

j) *Al-muzara'ah* (share-cropping)

There are many talented and experienced individuals who do not possess much wealth or none at all, while others have a great deal of money but little or no talent. Therefore, the wealthy person turns over to the one possessing talents some of his wealth to invest in a profitable business, so that the two may benefit from one another and share the profits according to some agreed-upon formula. In particular, business ventures on a large scale require the co-operation of many investors.

The Prophet (peace be on him) forbade the type of partnership on cultivable land which was known as *al-muzara'ah* (share-cropping), in which the contract would give one partner the produce of a specified area of a farm or a fixed amount of grain such as one or two tons. He prohibited this because such a transaction is similar to usury or gambling; for if the farm produced less than the specific amount or nothing at all, one partner would still get his share, while the other would suffer a total loss, which is contrary to justice.

The explicit *hadith* invalidating share-cropping because of this condition is, in my opinion, the basis of consensus among jurists that no partnership is valid which specifies a fixed profit for one partner in every case, regardless of whether or not the investment was profitable. They say, "Suppose one of the partners makes a condition that he is to receive a specified amount of money. In case the profit does not exceed that amount, he would receive the entire profit, and even if there is no profit, he would receive that much. On the other hand, if the profit is large he will be hurt by the condition of getting only the specified amount." This reasoning is in accordance with the spirit of Islam, which bases all human affairs on clearly defined principles of justice and fairness.

In contrast, the *Shari'ah* established a firm and equitable basis for such co-operation: if the owner of capital wishes to become a partner with the working man, he must agree to share all the consequences of this partnership. The *shari'ah* lays down the condition that in such a partnership, which is called *al-mudaribah* or *al-qirad*, the two

parties should agree that they will share the profit if there is profit and loss if there is loss in a proportion agreed upon in advance. This proportion can be one-half, one-third, one-fourth, or any other proportion for one party and the remainder for the other party. Thus, the partnership between capital and labour is that of two parties with joint responsibility, each having his share, whether of profit or loss, and whether large or little. If, in the balance, the losses exceed the profits, the difference is to be charged against the capital. This arrangement is not surprising, for while the owner of the capital has suffered a loss in his wealth, the working partner has lost his time and effort.

This is the law of Islam concerning partnership contracts. In contrast, was the owner of capital which guaranteed a fixed profit on his capital regardless of the magnitude of the profit or loss. It would be a clear violation of justice and a bias in favour of capital against investment of experience and labour. It would also be contrary to the realities of investment, which always contain elements of risk. To guarantee the person who did not work or take any risk is the very essence of execrable usury.

Just as it is lawful for a Muslim to use his own wealth for any permissible purpose or to give it to a capable, experienced person to invest in a joint venture, it is also lawful for him to pool his capital with the capital of others for investment, trade, or any lawful business ventures.

There are all kinds of activities and projects, some requiring intensive labour, others intensive mental expenditure, and still others large capital. By themselves individuals may not be able to accomplish much, but when joined with others, they can achieve many things. Allah says,

and help each other in righteousness and God-consciousness.

(5:3 (2))

Any deed which produces good results for the individual or society, or which removes some evil, is righteousness, and a righteous deed becomes piety if a good intention is added to it. Islam is not content with merely allowing such joint attempts but encourages and blesses them, promising Allah's help in this world and His reward in the Hereafter as long as these endeavours are within the sphere of what Allah has made *halal*, far removed from usury (interest) and from ambiguity, injustice, fraud, and cheating in any form. In this connection the Messenger of Allah (peace be on him) said,

"Allah, Most High, says: "I make a third with two partners as long as one of them does not cheat the other, but when he cheats him, I depart from them."

(Abu Dauod,3377)

l) Hoarding

Freedom for individuals and natural competition in the marketplace is guaranteed by Islam. Nevertheless, Islam severely condemns those who, driven by ambition and greed, accumulate wealth at the expense of others and become rich by manipulating the prices of food and other necessities. This is why the Prophet (peace be on him) denounced hoarders in very strong words, saying,

He who brings goods for sale is blessed with good fortune, but he who keeps them till the price rises is accursed."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2893)

"He who hoards is a sinner. It was said to Sa'id (bin al-Musayyib): You also hoard. Sa'id said: Ma'mar who narrated this hadith also hoarded."

(Muslim, 3910)

There are two ways of making a profit in a business. One is to withhold the commodity from the market until it becomes scarce and those who need it are unable to find it; then, compelled by their need, they come to the hoarder and pay him the price he demands, although it may be unreasonably high. The other way is to put the commodity on the market, sell it for a reasonable profit, buy more goods and sell them in like manner, and so on. Since this latter practice serves the public interest, a merchant who practises it is both blessed by Allah and well-provided for, as the foregoing *hadith* states.

m) *Najsh*

Ibn `Umar⁴ explained that *najsh* signifies someone's bidding for an item in excess of its price without having any intention of actually buying it, but merely in order to induce others to bid still higher. Many times this is pre-arranged for the purpose of deceiving others. The Prophet (peace be on him) also prohibited *najsh* , in order to prevent the manipulation of the market. The Prophet (peace be on him) said,

⁴He was one of the Islamic scholars in the fourteenth century, his *makhtutah* (manuscript); *ahkam al-suq* The Suq Rules, is the fundamental resource for the rules and regulations governing the suq. I have got a copy of from one of the universities in Saudi Arabia.

"Do not go forward to meet the caravan (to buy from it on the way before it reaches the town).

And do not urge buyers to cancel their purchases to sell them (your own goods) yourselves, and do not practise Najsh.

A town dweller should not sell the goods for the desert dweller.

Do not leave sheep un milked for a long time, when they are on sale, and whoever buys such an animal has the option of returning it, after milking it, along with a Sa' of dates or keeping it."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.360)

n) Taliqy al-Rikban

This means going out of town to buy merchandise which is on its way to the market. The Prophet (peace be on him) disapproved of this type of transaction and told people to wait until it was brought to the marketplace (reported by Muslim, Ahmad and Ibn Majah). The reason for this prohibition is that the market place, where the forces of demand and supply determine prices, is the best place for trading transactions. If someone goes out of town to buy from a trader who is bringing merchandise to the market place, there is a possibility that the seller, not knowing the current price of his merchandise, may be defrauded. If anyone does buy some of his merchandise in this manner, the seller has the option of cancelling the transaction after arriving at the marketplace.

Tawus narrated that ibn Abbas said, "Allah's Messenger (peace be upon him) said, 'Do not go to meet the caravans on the way (for buying their goods without letting them know the market price).

A town dweller should not sell the goods of a desert dweller on behalf of the latter.'"

I asked ibn Abbas, "What does he mean by not selling the goods of a desert dweller by a town dweller?" He said, 'He should not become his broker.'"

(Al-Bukhari, 3.367)

Also,

"The townsman should not sell for a man from the desert; leave the people alone; Allah will give them provision from one another."

(Muslim, 3630)

3.1.2 Social Context

Political Influence:

As we mentioned before Jeddah is located close to the two holy cities; Makkah and Madinah. This area is known as Ḥejaz. Ḥejaz is considered by all Muslims to be the heartland of Islam. As the population of the region are Muslims, the society, ideally, should conform totally with the doctrines of Islam in all aspects.

In Islam, the individual is free. He enjoys political, social, moral, and economic freedom as defined by Islam. As human freedom cannot be absolute, however, an independent entity is formed, not to deprive individuals of their freedom but to defend this freedom and allow it to function within the framework of Islamic rules and regulations which is called *shari`ah*.

The *Shari`ah* allows the state to interfere in all societal activities of its citizens, but only within the narrowest limits and mainly in order to apply the basic principle of "enjoining the good and forbidding the wrong", to safeguard citizens' rights, to defend the country, and to provide public services and utilities when individuals are not in a position to undertake such responsibilities.

Therefore, political institutions in Hedjaz preserve the spirit of the Islamic economy in both private and public sectors. For the private sector, a number of principles from the *shari`ah* explicitly form the basis of the free enterprise system.

The first of these principles pertains to the right to private ownership of the means of production and the right to inheritance. Second, the *shari`ah* explicitly states that inequalities of property distribution and hierarchic social stratification are permissible. Third, engagement in gainful employment or labour-wage relations are encouraged. Fourth, commercial activity is singled out as commendable endeavour if it is conducted fairly. Fifth, profit or fair gain is an acceptable source of income.

For the public sector, where the private sector is not able or willing to penetrate, the government controls the business applying the principles of welfare economics. This applies to all those industries that create sizeable external economies.

In this regard, the governments in the region of Ḥejaz have all preserved the spirit of the Islamic economics in both private and public sectors. When Ḥejaz was

governed by the early caliphs until 980, it passed under the rule of the *Ashraf*⁵ of Makkah. By 1517, Hejaz came under Ottoman rule. Although the whole Ottoman administrative system was introduced in the main cities, they accepted *Ashraf* of Makkah as local representatives of these provinces to govern in their name. In 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal brought the Red Sea back into world affairs, and Jeddah to the international trade in particular as mentioned in Chapter Two. Finally, in 1928 Hejaz came under the rule of the Saudi family, which was recognised as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932.

Lifestyle

The lifestyle of the traditional society is characterised by strong relationships under the concept of brotherhood attempting to build up a homogeneous society at all social levels. This is made explicit in strong family ties, followed by neighbours rights and finally in the whole society.

The religious brotherhood and uniformity of Muslims' rights and obligations is the foundation of equality in Islamic society. All members of the society, whether individual, family or neighbours, as well as non-Muslims are equal in rights and social duties and there is no difference between rich and poor, high and low, or white and black. The Prophet (peace be on him) said, ,

"Listen! You have one God as you have one father (Adam) There is no distinction between an Arab and a non-Arab. There is no preference for black over white, or white over black. There is distinction only in submission to Allah. The most virtuous among you is the most honourable in the eyes of Allah."

(Ahamed, 5.411)

In this sense, Islam has designated the social relationships between Muslims as interaction, collaboration, showing kindness, benefiting others, and avoiding harming others, as part of the domain of social relationship.

First, the individual. The individual has always been the starting point of Islamic principles. It is the duty of a Muslim to demonstrate perfect behaviour, i.e. kindness in personal relationships between man and man, accessibility, free giving of what is lawful, feeding the poor, the dissemination of peace, visiting sick Muslims, whether they are devout or estranged, accompanying the bier of a dead Muslim, being a

⁵- *Ashraf* is plural of *Sharyf*, which is a title given to the descendants of the Prophet Muhammed (Peace be on him).

good neighbour, whether one's neighbour is a Muslim or not, honouring the elderly, granting requests for food and accepting invitations to eat with others, being forgiving, making peace between men, open-handedness, generosity and liberality; being the first to give greeting and restraining one's anger.

All activities related to human needs (e. g., eating, drinking, clothing) are allowed as long as the motive is not pride or arrogance and any action that shows haughtiness, flaunts social status, or is exaggerated, eccentric, affected, arbitrary or over - elaborate is forbidden.

Second, the family. The family is the basic unit of Muslim society because it is the cradle of the individual and the vital source of the reinforcement of society.

In Islam, the relationship between family members is not temporary, but permanent. The relationship between all family members is a spiritual relationship that sustains and generates love, kindness, mercy, compassion, mutual confidence, self-sacrifice, comfort and help. Islam wants all those who are related through common parents, common brothers and sisters or marriage to be kind, co-operative and helpful to each other.

Therefore, the relationship between husband and wife is a sacred contract leading to a number of relationships producing a set of mutual rights and obligations, to attain psychological, emotional and spiritual companionship. The husband or father is assigned a position of authority so he can maintain order and be the ablest person to have the responsibility for his wife and children. The wife is expected to obey her husband and look after his well-being. Both of them as parents are responsible for their children's , rearing and upbringing (i. e. education, orientation, character building and gradual initiation into religion and culture). In return, the children are expected to behave properly towards their parents. They are responsible for the support and maintenance of their parents. It is an absolute religious duty to provide for parents in case of need and to help them and make their lives as comfortable as possible. Disobedience, neglect, or unkindness toward parents are considered grave sins. Allah says,

"Serve Allah and join not any partners with him; and do good to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, those in need, ..." (4:36.)

He also says,

"O Mankind! reverence Your Guardian-Lord, who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, his mate, and from them twin scattered (like seeds) countless men and women-fear Allah, through Whom ye demand your mutual (rights), and (reverence) the wombs (that bore you): for Allah ever watches over you" (4:1.)

Moreover, the Muslim family is an extended family, it might have three or four generations . It includes

- a) father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, and other direct forbears;**
- b) direct descendants, i.e. sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters,**
- c) relations of the second degree (such as brothers, sisters and their descendants), and**
- d) father's or mother's sisters (but not their daughters or other descendants)**

However, those relations who are outside the extended family, have also their own rights and obligations due to the fact that a number of them have been included in the second and third lines of inheritors. The Prophet (peace be on him) warned about cutting ties between the members of the extended family and those outside it. He said, "one who severs the ties of kinship would not enter Paradise." .

Thirdly, the neighbours. These are divided into three categories as mentioned in the Quran: a neighbour who is also a relation; a neighbour who is stranger; and a casual or temporary neighbour with whom one happens to live or travel for a certain time. All of them are deserving of sympathy, affection, kindness and fair treatment. Islam requires all neighbours to be loving, respectful, trusting, and helpful, and to share each other's sadness and gladness. It asks them to establish strong social closeness in which each one can depend upon the other and regards his life, honour and property as safe among his neighbours. Allah says,

"And do good to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, those in need, neighbours who are near, neighbours who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer (ye meet), and that your right hands possess" (4:36.)

Then, the Muslim should avoid causing any form of material or psychological harm to neighbours. The Prophet stressed this avoidance when he said,

**"He will not enter Paradise whose neighbour is not secure from his wrongful conduct."
(Muslim, 0074)**

In this regard, the Prophet said,

"... nobody can be a true believer if his neighbours pass the night hungry while his [own] belly is full. He who is best to his neighbours, will enjoy the neighbourhood of God on the Day of Resurrection."

(Al-Bukhari, 8.48)

Strong neighbourly relations should not be confined to next-door neighbours but should also extend to those further away.

Finally, there is the whole society " *ummah* " which is created by the basic social units (i. e. family and neighbour) in a sense of harmony and faithfulness. Allah says,

"And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude Allah's favour on you; for ye were enemies and He joined your hearts in Love, so that by His Grace, ye become brethren" (3:103.).

The practice and fulfilment of solidarity is reflected in Muslims living together in a society whose members support each other. In this social wholeness and association, the *ummah* gains its solidarity through the happiness and goodness achieved in life. This was reflected in traditional Muslim society when different tribes and nations were successfully mixed by Islam into one single nation without variance.

"O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other.) Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you" (49:13.)

The solidarity of the Muslim *ummah* is collectively achieved when certain social principles and values impose their meanings over the actions of the members of the *ummah*. Some of these principles are formed by *shari`ah* and should be shared goals of the Muslim community and are to be found in the Islamic rules of strong social interaction and social justice.

Norms and Habits:

Besides the *shari`ah* principles and codes of transactions, described in section 3.1.1, there are norms and habits which should be conducted along the same lines in practising the commercial activities. These are :

1). All transactions should be based on the fundamental principle of "*Ta`awanu `ala birr wa taqawa* " (mutual co-operation for the cause of goodness or piety). A transaction not based upon this sound principle is not lawful. Unlawful transactions are motivated by aspiration for money and desire to build up prestige.

2). Good-will: Islam has laid emphasis on creating good-will in business transactions. One should be easy and generous in bargaining, and whoever requests of a debt, does so in a pleasant manner. The Prophet (peace be on him) said: " May Allah's mercy be on him who is lenient in his buying, selling and demanding back his money " (reported by al-Bukhari).With a view to establishing good relations in business, all contracts must be put down in writing, setting out all terms thereof, as " this is more equitable in the sight of Allah, and makes testimony surer and is more likely to keep out doubts, and avoid disputes" (2: 282- 283). The writing should set out the terms agreed upon fairly, and as a further precaution it is laid down that the terms of the contract shall be dictated by the person who has undertaken the liability. If the person on whose behalf the liability is undertaken is a minor of unsound judgement, then his guardian or the person representing his interests should dictate the terms of the contract (2: 282). It is obvious, that trade and commerce in Islam is linked up with the moral and ethical values of life.

3) Withholding Full Measure. One way of defrauding the customer is to measure or weigh incorrectly. The Quran emphasised this aspect of business transactions and included it among the ten obligations described in the last part of *Surah al-An `am* :

"...And give full measure and (full) weight, in justice; We do not burden any soul beyond what it can bear...." (6: 152)

And elsewhere in the Quran Allah says,

And give full measure when you measure and weigh with the straight balance; that is most fitting and best in the final determination. (17:35)

He also says,

" Woe to the defrauders—those who, when they take the measure from people take it in full, but when they measure for them or weigh for them give them short. Do they not realise that they will be raised up again on a mighty Day, a Day when mankind will stand before the Lord of the worlds ? " (83: 1-6)

The Muslim should try to do justice in measuring and weighing as far as is humanly possible, although absolute accuracy in this regard is unattainable. This is why, following the command to give full measure, the Quran adds, " We do not burden any soul beyond what it can bear."

A story is narrated in the Quran concerning people who are dishonest in their business dealings, deviating from justice in weighing and measuring, and being miserly with each other. Allah sent a messenger to bring them back to justice and honesty, as well as to the belief in His Unity. These were the people of the prophet Shu'ab (peace be on him), who as a preacher, called on them to

Give full measure, and do not be of those who give less (than what is due). And weigh with the straight balance, and do not diminish people's goods nor do evil on the earth, making mischief." (26: 181-183)

What is correct in relation to weighing and measuring is correct in relation to all other human affairs and relationships. The Muslim is not permitted to have two standards, one for himself and one for other people, this for the near and dear and that for the public, demanding in full his rights and the rights of those who support him, but when it concerns others, diminishing or depriving them of their rights.

4). False Oaths: Islam has condemned all business transactions where businessmen resort to false oaths. The sin of deceiving is the greater when the seller supports it by swearing falsely (this means swearing that something is true in the name of Allah.). The Prophet (peace be on him) told the merchants to avoid swearing in general and, in particular, in support of a lie, saying,

"The swearing (by the seller) may persuade the buyer to purchase the goods but that will be deprived of Allah's blessing."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.300)

He disapproved of frequent swearing in business transactions because first, it is probably done to deceive people, and second, because it reduces respect for the name of Allah.

One day when the Prophet (peace be on him) was going to the mosque, he saw some people engaged in selling. "O merchants," he called out to them. When they turned their faces toward him, he said,

"The merchants will be raised on the Day of Resurrection as evildoers, except those who fear Allah, are honest and speak the truth."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2799)

"Beware of swearing, it produces a ready sale for a commodity, but blots out the blessing."

(Muslim, 3914)

Thus, he warned them against lying about their merchandise, since this is the weakness of merchants. Lying leads to wrong-doing, and that in turn leads to the Fire. The Prophet (peace be on him) warned in general against swearing and, in particular, against swearing to a lie, saying,

"There are three people who Allah will not look at on the Day of Resurrection, nor will he purify them and theirs will be a severe punishment. They are: 1. A man who possessed superfluous water on a journey but he withheld it from travellers. 2. A man who gave a pledge of allegiance to a ruler but he gave it only for worldly benefits. If the ruler gave him something he was satisfied, and if the ruler withheld something from him, he was dissatisfied. 3. And a man who displayed his goods for sale after the Asr prayer, said, 'By Allah, except Whom None has the right to be worshipped, I have been given so much for my goods,' and somebody believes him (and buys them)."

The Prophet (peace be upon him) then recited: 'Verily! Those who purchase a little gain at the cost of Allah's Covenant and their oaths.' (3:77)

(Al-Bukhari, 3.547)

5). "He who deceives us is not of us"⁶. The merchant should beware of cheating, Islam prohibits every type of fraud and deception, whether it be in buying and selling or in any other matter between people. In all situations the Muslim must be honest and truthful, holding his faith dearer than any wordly gain. The Prophet (peace be on him) said,

"Both parties in a business transaction have the right of withdrawal as long as they have not separated, except in the transaction called khiyar."

(Al-Muwatta, 31.38.80)

⁶- (Muslim, 0183).

He also said,

If you sell fruits to your brother (and Jabir ibn Abdullah reported through another chain of narrators: If you were to sell fruits to your brother) and these are stricken with calamity, it is not permissible for you to get anything from him. Why do you get the wealth of your brother, without justification?

(Muslim, 3771)

The Prophet (peace be upon him) happened to pass by a heap of eatables (corn). He thrust his hand in that (heap) and his fingers were moistened. He said to the owner of the heap of eatables (corn): What is this? Messenger of Allah, these have been drenched by rainfall. He (the Prophet) remarked:

"Why did you not place this (the drenched part of the heap) over other eatables so that the people could see it? He who deceives is not of me (is not my follower)."

(Muslim, 0183)

6). Peace and Security. Commerce can flourish under conditions of peace and security. The people are, therefore, warned not to disturb the peace of the land so that there is a free and encouraged trade between different parts of the world. In commercial relations we are expected to be absolutely just and honest, liberally giving other people their due. We are not to be guilty of selfish greed and not to indulge in profiteering; and we are told that lawful profit which has God's blessing is the one that we are able to make through perfectly honest dealings with others. The injunctions contained in these Quranic verses and found elsewhere in the Quran, close the door to all dishonest and unjust transactions.

7). Kindness and Justice and Magnanimity. Islam, which condemns every kind of injustice and exploitation in human relations, wants its followers to conduct business in the sublime spirit of justice tempered with human kindness. The conduct of the seller in a transaction should be characterised not only by *Insaf* (justice), but also by *Ihsan* (magnanimity). The Prophet (peace be on him) said that God will forgive the sins of a Muslim who absolves a fellow-Muslim from a sale-contract not liked by the latter.

Kindness should be conducted not only in business transactions, but also at the root of social interaction between Muslims. Allah says,

"And do good to parents, kinfolk, orphans, those in need, neighbours who are near, neighbours who are strangers, the companion by your side, the wayfarer (ye meet) and what your right hands possesses" (4:36.)

According to al-Ghazali, kindness should be expressed in giving other Muslims priority over private needs, forgiveness of mistakes and failings, loyalty, sincerity and self-sacrifice.

8). Love of Wealth. Islam strikes at the root of the desire for money and suggests a different standard to measure the prestige of a person. The Quran, on the one hand, condemns hoarding and the excessive love for wealth, and, on the other, declares virtue and piety to be the basis for determining a person's worth : " The noblest in the eyes of God is the pious among you". Thus, Islam minimises in every possible way the temptation to illegal trade and traffic.

The Prophet (peace be on him) promised merchants a high status with Allah and a great reward in the Hereafter. We observe that the motivating force behind much trading activity is greed and profit making by any means; "Money makes money" and "Business begets business". Any merchant who remains within the bounds of honesty and fair dealing in such an atmosphere is a fighter against his desires, meriting the status of a warrior in the cause of Allah.

9) No harm nor hurt. Strong social interaction between Muslims should also be maintained by avoiding any action that could harm other Muslims. The Quran (e. g., 49:10-12) and *sunnah* warn against any act that could cause either mental or physical damage to positive relationships between Muslims. One of the many verses that clarifies the punishment for harming others says,

"And those who annoy believing men and women undeservedly, bear (on themselves) a calumny and a glaring sin" (33:58.)

10). Inequity. Islam emphasises social justice as a regulatory social system. Islam also warns against social inequity. The Quran repeatedly declares that *zulm* or injustice has absolutely no place in Islam. It says,

"The Word of the Lord doth find its fulfilment in truth and in justice: none can change His Words: for He is the one Who heareth and knoweth all" (6:115).

In warning of the disastrous consequences of discrimination and inequality before the law for an individual or a nation, the Prophet says,

"Communities before you strayed because when the high committed theft they were sent free, but when the low committed theft the law was enforced on them. By God, even if my daughter, Fatimah, committed theft I will certainly cut off her hand."
(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 3607)

Regarding the Islamic prohibition of any form of discrimination such as one based on wealth, the contemporary scholar Al-Qaradawi states that economic discrimination generates envy and hatred among the poor toward the rich, and contempt and callousness among the rich toward the poor. Conflicts arise, the socio-economic fabric is rent, revolutions are born, and social order is threatened (Al-Qaradawi, 1960, p.336).

11). **Honesty** The Prophet (peace be on him), by his words and deeds, delineated the rules of trade, encouraging, indeed, urging the Muslims to engage in it. Among some of his sayings are the following:

"The merchants will be raised on the Day of Resurrection as evildoers, except those who fear Allah, are honest and speak the truth."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2799)

"The truthful and trusty merchant is associated with the prophets, the upright, and the martyrs."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2796)

It is not surprising that the Prophet (peace be on him) held the status of an honest merchant to be equal to that of a soldier or a martyr in the cause of Allah. His evaluation is confirmed by the experiences of life, since striving in the cause of Allah is not limited to the battlefield but extends to the economic front as well.

12). **Employment.** The Muslim is free to seek employment in the service of the government, an organisation, or an individual as long as he is able to do his work satisfactorily and carry out his duties. However, he is not permitted to seek a job for which he is unfit, especially if the job carries judicial or executive authority.

"No doubt " the best of men for you to employ is the strong, the trustworthy. (28: 26)

The Prophet (peace be on him) said,

"Woe to the governors, woe to the chiefs, woe to the superintendents! On the Day of Resurrection people will wish that their forelocks were tied to the Pleiades, that they were swinging between Heaven and Earth, and that they had never exercised any rule."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 3698)

"Allah says, 'I will be against three persons on the Day of Resurrection:-

1. One who makes a covenant in My Name, but he proves treacherous,
2. One who sells a free person (as a slave) and eats the price,
3. And one who employs a labourer and gets the full work done by him but does not pay him his wages."

(Al-Bukhari, 3.430)

It is better for the Muslim not to aspire to a high position, even though he may be suited for it, and to seek for something else; for whoever considers the position as a means of lording it over others is a slave of that position, and whoever turns his face toward worldly glories will not receive guidance from heaven.

If, however, a person knows that there is no one else qualified to do a particular job except himself, and that if he does not come forward to take it, public interests will be damaged, and he should come forward. The Quran tells us the story of the prophet Joseph in which Joseph tells the ruler,

"Set me over the storehouses of the land; I am surely a knowledgeable custodian." (12:55)

Similarly, any service rendered in support of injustice or in promoting what is *haram* is itself *haram*. For example, it is prohibited to the Muslim to be an employee in an organisation which deals in interest, in a bar or liquor shop, night-club, dance hall and the like.

13). Doubtful activities. The Muslim is always to be on guard against temptation which may lead him toward doubtful activities, thereby weakening his faith and compromising his religion, no matter how large a profit or gain may be involved. The Prophet (peace be on him said),

"Both legal and illegal things are evident but in between them there are doubtful (suspicious) things and most of the people have no knowledge about them.

So whoever saves himself from these suspicious things saves his religion and his honour. And whoever indulges in these suspicious things is like a shepherd who grazes (his animals) near the *Hima* (Private pasture) of someone else and at any moment he is liable to get in it.

(O people!) Beware! Every king has a *Hima* and the *Hima* of Allah on the earth is His illegal (forbidden) things. Beware! There is a piece of flesh in the body if it becomes good (reformed) the whole body becomes good but if it gets spoilt the whole body gets spoilt and that is the heart."

(Al-Bukhari, 1.49)

He also said,

"No one will attain to being one of the pious till he abandons things which are harmless through being on his guard against what is harmful."

(Mishkat Al-Masabih, 2775)

3.2 Retailing Activity

Islamic economics and social relations are integrated to form the social mechanics of the process of exchange as well as the social organisations regulating commercial activities. Here, I will attempt to explain the process of exchange that takes place between the buyer and seller in the *suq*, and subsequently will deal with exchange among the sellers themselves.

In the *suq*, exchange that takes place between the buyer and seller can be described in two ways; clientelisation and bargaining. Clientelisation is the tendency for repetitive purchasers of certain goods and services - whether consumables such as vegetables, or barbering, or intracommercial ones like bulk weaving or portage-to establish continuing relationships with certain buyers. More broadly it applies to the establishment of relatively enduring exchange relations of any sort, for in essence the event is the same, whether the client is a household head buying his morning things or his weekly stock.

Bargaining means a negotiation to fix a price of any article between the buyer and seller. In the absence of fixed prices, in the case of the normal situation as we mentioned before, bargaining becomes essential to sustain economic relationships between buyer and seller. Just as bargaining enables the buyer to distinguish reliable sellers from unreliable ones, it also enables the seller to reduce the number of the careful buyers and to establish lasting clientship with trusted ones. Hence, bargaining brings order into an otherwise unfixed price system.

However, the amount of bargaining that takes place in any given transaction is itself highly variable. Higher priced transactions normally take longer than lower priced exchanges, strong clientship ties normally shorten bargaining time, repetitive exchanges (e.g., buying food) are normally completed more rapidly than occasional ones (e.g., buying a cooker), and so on. Several other events also influence the amount of bargaining: time of day, season of the year, sizes, composition, and flexibility; the

perishability of the goods; the "fullness" of the *suq*; and the relative social status, experience, talent, and the simple temperaments of the participants.

On the other hand, bargaining not only alters the price while keeping quantity and quality constant, it also alters quantity and/or quality while keeping price constant; this is an extremely widespread practice in the *suq*. In some transactions, especially of ordinary foodstuffs, manipulation may simply consist of adding or subtracting items to the pre-priced pile of fruit, vegetables, meats or whatever. Or, rather commonly in textile dealings, the buyer may first offer a price and then haggle with the seller over what it will buy. In other transactions - wheat and wool sales, for example - the manipulation may consist in varying the size of assumed established units.

Thus, bargaining can involve the following : a) Price setting is the clearest aspect of bargaining, the haggling spirit penetrates the whole of the action: whatever is alterable is negotiable. b) The competitors in a bargaining situation are a buyer and a seller-not two or more sellers, as in modern retail markets; two or more suppliers, as in bid-for-contract markets; or two or more buyers as in an auction. c) Bargaining does not operate in purely reasonable, utilitarian terms, but is produced by deeply felt rules of formality, tradition, and moral expectation. d) The amount of bargaining involved in any one transaction is affected by a wide number of factors, the more important of which include: type and quantity of good, depth of clientelization, frequency of repetitive exchange, degree of information difference, the shadow price of time, and the relative economic strength of the principals.

Economically, any market has both an extensive and an intensive margin in searching for information. A buyer can search at the extensive margin by getting a quotation from one or more sellers. He can search at the intensive margin by getting additional information concerning an offer already received. Where the goods and services sold are highly standardised, the extensive margin is the more important; when there is great variation in quality, the intensive margin becomes important.

But in the case of the *suq*, the buyer could be *sawam* or *mushtary*. *Sawam* (lit. means to estimate the value of an object) is a *suq* participant who is bargaining to test the waters, and tends to deal with people with whom he or she either has established ties or yet has not established these. *Mushtary* is a *suq* participant who is bargaining to conclude an exchange, and tends to deal with people with whom they already have ties. This reduces the value of extensive search even further, of course, for bargaining is not likely to be serious when the participants know the exchange is unlikely to conclude,

though the desire of buyers to extend their clientele acts to correct this somewhat, and what begins as *sawam*, an extensive bargaining relationship between mere friends, can end as *mushtary* an intensive one between *suq* "friends," if things go right. In general, extensive search tends to be aimless and to be considered an activity not worth large investments of time. From the point of view of search, the truly productive type of bargaining is that of the clientelized buyer and seller exploring the dimensions of a particular, likely-to-be-completed transaction.

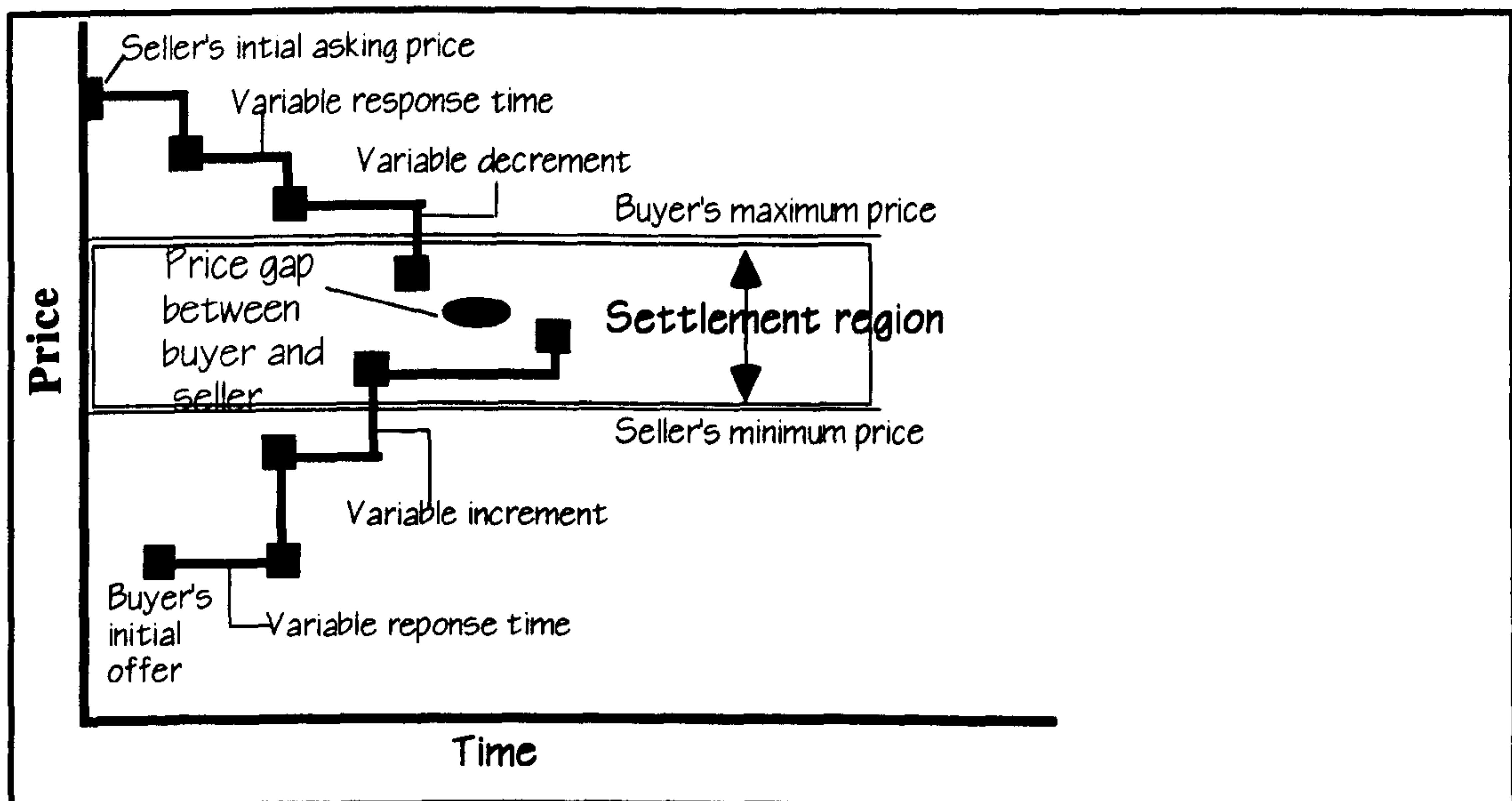


Fig. 3. 1 Bargaining Model. Adapted from Geertz & Rosen, 1979, p.226.

This formal dimension of bargaining -as shown in fig. 3.1- is, of course, supported by a wide range of conventions: that the seller bids first, that bids alternate, that backward moves are forbidden, that accepted bids must be honoured, that one ought not break off an interchange that is moving actively ahead, and so on. Like any conventions, these may sometimes be broken-a buyer is sometimes forced to make the initial bid, several continuous moves are occasionally made by one side or another, a buyer occasionally refuses to purchase at a price he has already offered or walks away from a responsive seller - but hardly ever without complaint from the injured party.

Within this frame, the course of bargaining mainly depends on the size of the settlement region- the overlap between the maximum price the buyer will pay and the minimum price the seller will accept. If the overlap is wide, agreement is virtually certain; if it is narrow, agreement is less so; if it is non-existent (i.e. the buyer's maximum is below the seller's minimum), agreement is impossible.

More precisely, there are three main phases of intensive bargaining: initial bidding, movement toward a settlement region, and, if that region is in fact entered, settlement itself. The absolute separation of initial bids, almost never so great in bargaining between clients as to prevent exchange from the start, suggests how wide the settlement region is likely to be (the greater the separation, the narrower) and the difficulty of reaching it. The rapidity of movement toward the settlement region further specifies the situation (the faster, the wider). And the settlement itself will be more delayed the wider the region as each participant, more or less assured of exchange, manoeuvres to locate a final price a few rial closer to his boundary than to his opposite's. (Where the region is narrow, the final phase, if it is reached, hardly differs from the middle one.)

Socially, the structure of bargaining is determined by this fact: that bargaining is a communications channel evolved to serve the needs of men coupled and opposed at the same time. The rules governing it-some of them technical, some of them merely conventional, and many of them deeply moral-are a response to a situation in which (normally) two persons on opposite sides of some exchange possibility are at once struggling to make that possibility actual and to gain some (usually) very marginal advantage within it. Most *suq* price negotiation takes place to the right of the decimal point, a good deal of it several places to the right; but it is no less keen for that.

Through the manipulation of cultural norms and symbols, bargaining serves an economic purpose, that is, to regulate prices. A bargainer, whether seller or buyer, searches for a commodity and a price in an atmosphere of trust, often leading to client-relationships, and occasionally to friendship. Although "business tricks" are used, even these tricks cannot be carried out without the initial establishment of trust; kinship terms, polite formulas, observance of good manners.

However, if either party to the bargain, seller or buyer, is unusually successful in his approach, he earns social recognition among his group by developing the reputation of knowing how to "handle" of people and subsequently affects their choice of behaviour. Since profit in bargaining is translated into social recognition, seller-bargainers in the *suq* try to use all sorts of polite formulas to affect the economic choice of their customers .

Conclusion

From the review of the Islamic economic principles which aim to maximise social welfare, it is obvious that Islam sometimes encourages able people to earn their livelihood through lawful means, and sometimes postulates *zakat* and *sadaqah* (alms giving and charity) for those who are incapable of work. This is to satisfy the basic needs of life for all the members of society. Also, Islam demands from those who do work to keep trust and all terms concluded with other parties, to secure individual freedom in terms of their ownership and gain.

Thus, business transactions are codified by *shari`ah* in a manner that every activity that stands in the way of achieving the social welfare will be expressed as unlawful, and those who cope with the social welfare will be approved. For this reason, it is an obligation for every *suq'* participant to know about those codes.

Moreover, there are other aspects that sustain the same objective as the Islamic economy does; the political aspect and lifestyle. The political aspect, as we mentioned, ensures the security of trade by applying *shari`ah* codes of transaction, and penetrates trade where an individual can't. Also one of its obligations is the provision of public services. From the lifestyle, the homogeneity of society eases the conduct of those codes by people in their daily activities and in particular for traders .

Consequently, socio - cultural values govern the retailing activity. Although, retailing activity is governed by those values, it is supervised by social organisations among the *suq'* participants and external authorities. This is what I intend to explain in next chapter

CHAPTER FOUR

**ORGANISATION OF COMMERCIAL
ACTIVITIES**

CHAPTER FOUR :

ORGANISATION OF COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

[Man] ... cannot do without the social organisation for which the philosophers use the technical term 'town' (polis). However, the power of the individual human being is not sufficient for him to obtain the food he needs, and does not provide him with as much food to live. Even if we assume an absolute minimum of food - that is, food enough for one day, a little wheat, for instance - that amount of food could be obtained only after much preparations such as grinding, kneading, and baking. Each of these three operations requires utensils and tools that can be provided only with the help of several crafts, such as the crafts of the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the potter. Consequently, social organisation is necessary to the human species. Without it, the existence of human beings would be incomplete.

(Ibn Khaldoun, 1967, pp.45-6)

This chapter deals with the social structure and organisation of the traditional *aswaq* of Jeddah. Two major social institutions operate within the *suq* and are referred to in this chapter; the internal organisation (social norms within the *suq's* community; merchants and craftsmen) and the external organisation (between the *suq's* community and the public).

The chapter focuses on the general aspects of the *suq's* internal and external organisations, then deals with each of these in more detail. As a continuation of the previous chapters about the traditional *aswaq* (*n.sing. suq*), it completes the picture of the basic socio-cultural functions and features of *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah and provides a better understanding of the whole notion of *suq* as a major element in the traditional city and an active centre of trade and craftsmanship.

The organisation of this chapter discusses first the source of the information upon which the social structure is described, where it is derived from a literature review. Then, from that and from data conducted by field work in the city of Jeddah as set out in Chapter Five, I will describe the social structure of both internal and external organisations.

4.1. Literature review of the internal organisation of the traditional *aswaq* :

The internal organisation of the traditional *suq* is based on an intricate system of guilds known as "*aṣṇāf*", "*naqābat*", "*tawa'if*" or "*hirraf*"¹. These existed in traditional Muslim Cities as early as the ninth century. The city - population was organised into guilds according to their crafts and trades. The guild system consists of all those engaged in economic production, distribution and services. According to Yusuf Ibish², in his essay about the economic institution in the Islamic City in medieval time, not only artisans and merchants were organised but also people engaged in services such as: brokers, auctioneers, storytellers, and boatmen. The guild system embraced owners of starch factories, tanneries, dye houses, sulphur workshops and similar activities which were not located in the *aswaq* but on the border of the city to prevent offence to the central mosque. Moreover, there were guilds of people who had no shops but worked out of doors or at large or in their own houses, such as painters, water carriers, sellers of sherbet, barbers, couriers, midwives, as well as government employees (such as the workers in the slaughterhouse, employees of the mint and tax collectors)³.

The available documentation about the traditional system of guilds, especially the particulars of the *suq's* internal organisation, is not sufficient to carry out a detailed analysis. Some historians dealt with the guild-systems of traditional Muslim *aswaq* from different points of view, each of which referred to them in his own terms. For example, these guilds were called "fraternity corporations", "*aṣṇāf*", "guilds" and "*tawa'iff*". While these historical records can help trace the history of this institution and provide a reasonable introduction to this part of the research, they lack the level of detailed analysis required for the completion of this stage. Here, I will present the similarities and/or differences between these various points of view concerning the internal organisation of the *aswaq*.

¹ - Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 436.

² - Yusuf Ibish, *Economic Institutions*, ed. R. B. Serjeant, *The Islamic City*, Paris, 1976, pp. 114-125

³ - G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern times*, 5-6, Jerusalem, 1964.

I] **The Islamic Guilds**, by Bernard Lewis, *Economic History Review*, VIII, 1, November, 1937, pp. 20 - 37

Bernard Lewis in his account of Islamic Guilds provides a comprehensive discussion in terms of their origin and historical development as well as their inner structure and catechism.

Lewis examined the three hypotheses of the Islamic guild's origin⁴; the Byzantine origin hypothesis by Ströckle⁵, the non-orientalist hypothesis by Van Vloten⁶ and Becker⁷, and the Qarmati hypothesis by Prof. Massignon⁸. He came to a conclusion that :

From all this, it is clear that Qarmatism has played a great role in the development of the Islamic guilds, and has left a deep and lasting imprint in their inner life - though, it seems to me, there is not yet sufficient evidence to show that which actually created them. What seems more likely is that the Qarmatis gave a new *'ilan* and a new meaning to forms of organisation already existing. Whether these forms were of Byzantine origin, or were imitations of contemporary Byzantine institutions beyond the frontier it is impossible to say. Such an interpretation is supported by traces of craft organisation in the pre - Qarmati period, and by the considerable Hellenistic element in Qarmati thought. The Islamic guilds would thus be a synthesis of a material framework of organisation inherited or imitated from Graeco - Roman world, and a system of ideas coming essentially from Syro - Persian civilisation, giving as a result a movement at once Islamic, Hellenistic, interconfessional, philosophic and corporatist. "

(Lewis, 1937, p. 26).

Similarly, Lewis discussed the inner structure and catechism of the Islamic guilds. These were laid under codes, rules, customs and ceremonies of every guild which were usually orally transmitted. The principle sources of the inner structure and catechism came from written documents dating from the 14th century and onwards. These documents, as Lewis described, are Sufi-based Futuwwa or books of rules; the Book of Travels by the 17th century Turkish, Celebi; and Notice sur les corporation de Damas of 1884.

4- See the published paper in the above mentioned periodical, for further detail.

5- Ströckle, *Spätrömisch und Byzantinische Zünfte*, Leipzig, 1911.

6- Van Vloten, *Recherches Sur La domination arab, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1894.

7- Becker, *Islam studien*, Leipzig, 1924, vol. 1.

8- M. Massignon, *Le corps de métier et la cité musulmane*, *Revue Internatioale de sociologia*, V. 28, 1920, p. 473 ff.

1) *Kitab al-Futuwwa* (*Futuwwa* book) :

Futuwwa is a group of young men, bound together by an ethical and religious code of duties and an elaborate ceremony. Historically, *Futuwwa* appeared all over the Islamic lands during the post - Mongol period in 12th and 13th centuries. *Futuwwa* tends to identify itself with the Sufi brotherhood and, through the bonds of a common membership, with the craft - guilds, *Futuwwa* and guilds became synonymous terms. This book constructs the hierarchy of the guild (fig. 4.1).

At the head of the guild is the *Shaykh*⁹. He is elected by the master craftsmen, and, once elected, is the unchallenged ruler of the guild, combining the functions of head, treasurer and scribe. After him come the *Ikhtiyariyya*, or elders among the master craftsmen who co-operate generally with him in the administration of the guild. Next comes the master craftsmen (*Usta*, sometimes

Mu'allam), the main body of the guild. The journeyman (*Ṣanā'i*) does not play a great part in the Islamic guild, and is usually missing altogether, the transition being direct from apprentice to master. In some there is an intermediary stage, during which the artisan is called *khalifa*, or *khalfa* (companion, adjunct). This stage, however, is temporary.

The apprentice (*Mubtadi*)¹⁰ completes the series. In the majority of cases no time of apprenticeship is fixed, nor is any masterpiece in the European sense required. The times of study and of acceptance are fixed by the master with whom the apprentice works. Discipline is exercised either by the *Shaykh* alone, or by the *Shaykh* and *Ikhtiyariyya* together, according to different texts.

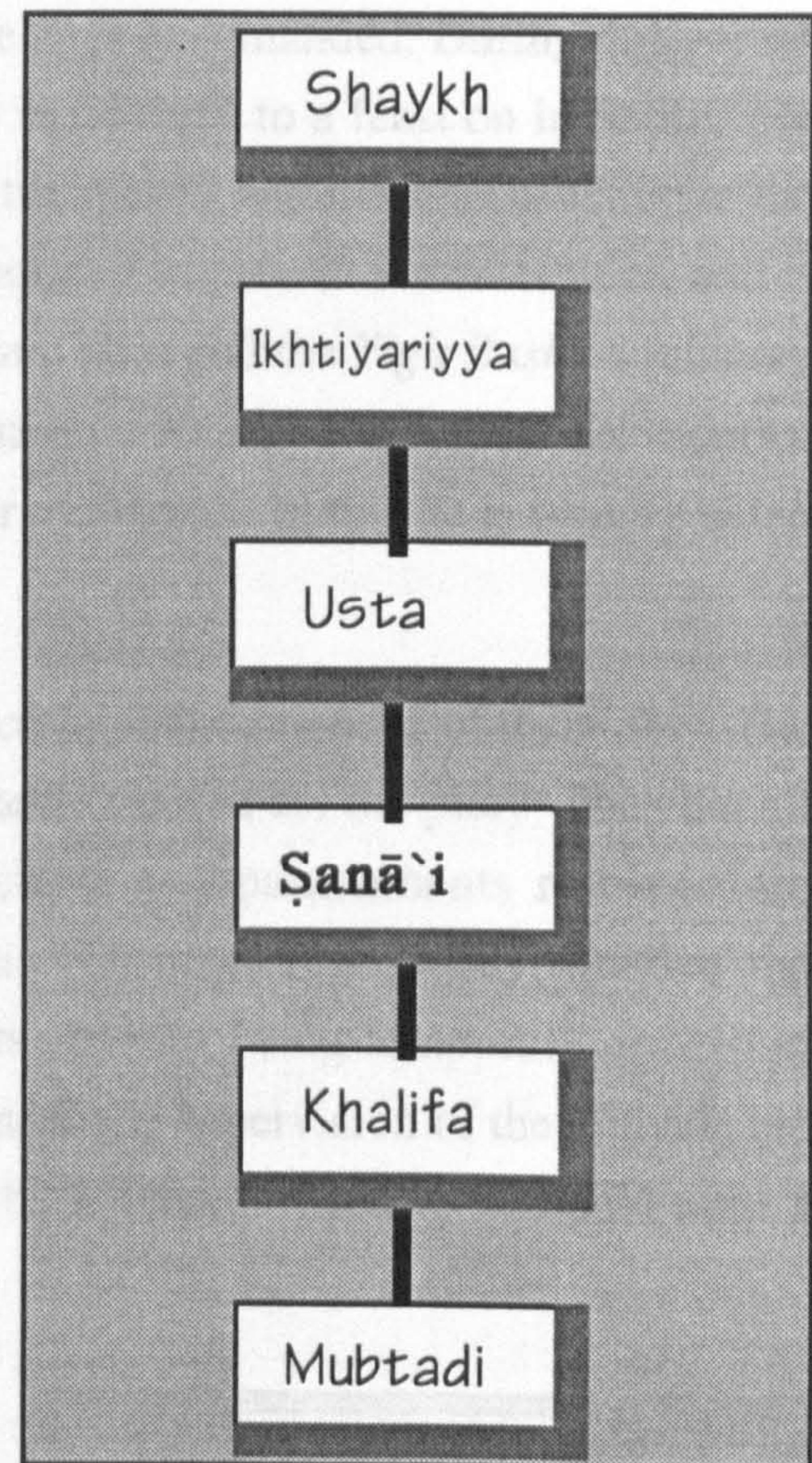


Fig.4. 1The hierarchical structure of the guild

⁹- The *Shaykh* is also known as *Amin*, *Arif*, and sometimes as *Naqib*. In Turkey the *Shaykh* is called *Shaykh Usta* or *Esnaf Basi* and in Central Asia *Aqsaqal*.

¹⁰- Also *Muta'allim*, and in Turkish '*cirak*'

However, a different form of organisation is found in the later Anatolian guilds, where an apprenticeship of one thousand and one days is demanded. During this period the apprentice receives no salary, but is entitled to tips and to a feast on initiation. He receives at the same time his craft training from the master and moral instruction at the *Zawiya*. At the end of his apprenticeship he is required to present a masterpiece, and is formally initiated at a public ceremony by the *Esnaf Basi* and the *Yigit Bashari* (elders). He then becomes *Khalfa* (adjunct). He must remain a *Khalfa* for at least six months, after which he may establish himself as a master craftsman. In this he is usually aided financially by his teacher and the other masters.

The guild is headed by a committee (*lonca heyeti*) composed of the elders. The final decision remains with the chief, who is usually chosen for his piety. The council meets fortnightly (every two weeks). The orders and punishments resolved are executed by the *Çaus* (*shawish*), or the *Isbasi*. The council jealously guarded the quality of production, the penalty of poor craftsmanship being temporary exclusion from the guild. Raw materials were purchased under the supervision of the *Shaykh*, the poorer craftsmen taking precedence over the rich. A general meeting was held once a year.

2) Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, the Book of Travels of a Turkish Traveller, Evliya Celebi who in the early seventeenth century, at the request of the Sultan, compiled a detailed list of the guilds of Constantinople. In this work we find for the first time a full description of the guild organisation of a Muslim City.

His description of the guilds, which is apparently reproduced textually, contains the usual legends and catechisms, and also a description of the ceremony of initiation. The hierarchy here described consists of the *Shaykh* (head), the *Naqib* (vice-head), the *Caus* (usher), the *Usta* (master) and the *Sagird* (apprentice). The journeyman, it will be noticed, is not mentioned at all (fig.4.2).

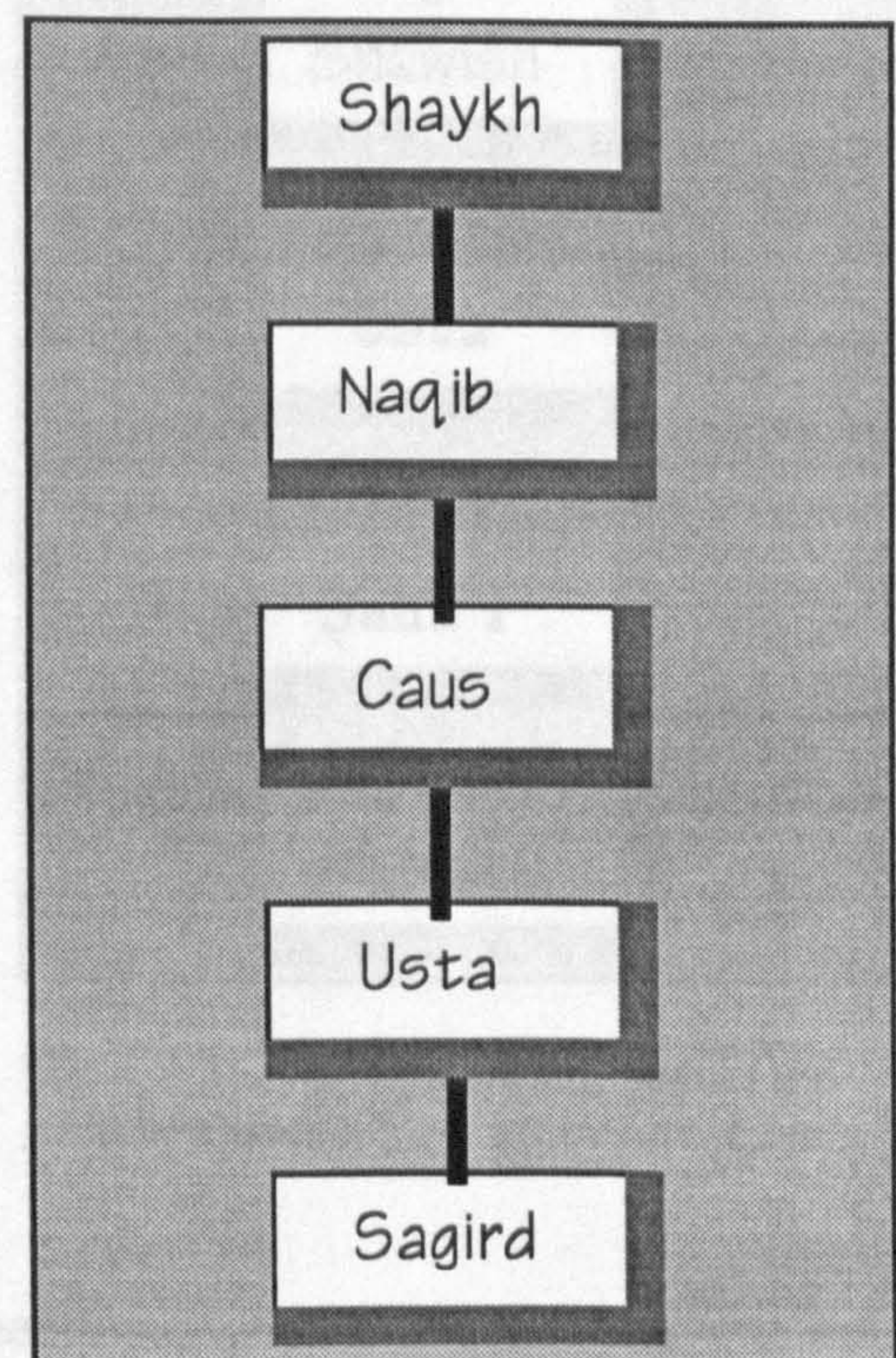


Fig. 4. 2 The hierarchical structure of the guild by Celebi.

for the Evliya Celebi enumerates all guilds and professions existing in Constantinople, with the number of their shops, their men, their *Shayukh* (pl. of *Shaykh*). They are divided into fifty-seven sections, containing in all one thousand and one guilds, and this is as the number of days fixed for apprenticeship (as the case in Anatolian guilds). The general principle is that each section is under the leadership of a single person, usually the head of the principal guild within the section, who holds the higher office.

3) -Notice sur les Corporations de Damas. This was the result of an *enquete* on the guilds of Damascus presented to the International Congress of Orientalists, in 1884, conducted by Elia Qoudsi.

Qoudsi described that at the head of all the guilds of the town was *Shaykh al - MaShaykh*, the *Shaykh* of *Shaykhs*¹¹. This post was hereditary in a certain family. *Shaykh al - MaShaykh* was elected by the Sultan. However he could not be replaced, or deposed, and was removable only by his death or resignation. In earlier times he was supreme judge in all guild affairs, and had the right to imprison. But after the *Tanzimat* (nineteenth-century Ottoman reforms) his powers were considerably diminished, and the post became almost purely honorific. The post at the time of Qoudsi's *enquete* was one for a great scholar, but entirely ignorant of all crafts. His function was to approve the investiture (*taqlyed*) of guild heads by the masters (fig. 4.3).

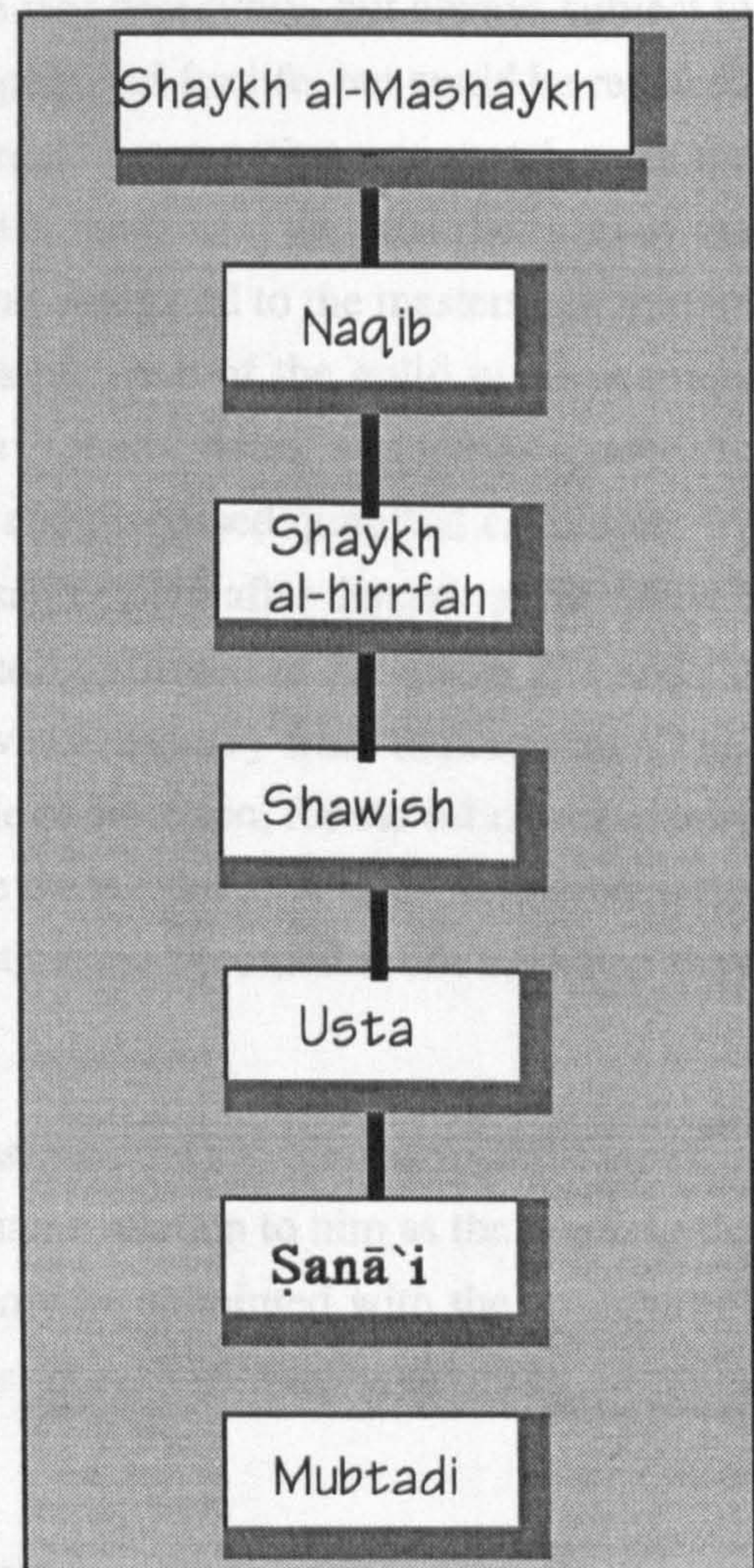


Fig. 4. 3 The hierarchical structure of the guild by Qoudsi.

However, traditionally, *Shaykh al- MaShaykh* sent a *Naqib* (a functionary representative of *Shaykh al - MaShaykh*), when he could not personally attend all guild meetings, whenever a meeting was held

¹¹- The post of *Shaykh al-Mashaykh*, it may be noted in passing, would appear to be purely Damascene, as no trace of it can be found in any other city.

for the initiation of journeymen or masters, or any other matter of general interest. There were many *Naqibs*, when the office of *Shaykh al-MaShaykh* was an important and influential one.

Next was the *Shaykh al-ḥirrafah* (*Shaykh* of the guild), elected by the eldest workers from among the best craftsmen and guildsmen, regardless of age or length of membership, and often a very young man. He was required to be of good character, a skilful craftsman, respected by the guildsmen and capable of representing them before the authorities. In some guilds the *Shaykh* - ship was hereditary, but always subject to the approval of the electorate. The *Shaykh* was appointed for life, but could be replaced if found remiss. His duties were to call and preside at meetings, to watch over the maintenance of the standard of the craft, to punish those who violated the rules of the craft, to regulate the conditions of labour (this was delegated to the masters); to initiate new journeymen and masters, to be the responsible head of the guild in all dealings with the government. The election of the *Shaykh*, Qoudsi notes, was not by a majority vote. The elder masters of the guild assembled and discussed qualified candidates by *Ijm`a* (consensus of opinion). In the case of disagreement after discussion, the *Shaykh al-MaShaykh* appointed a new *Shaykh*, who was confirmed in his office at a special ceremony. In some guilds the office of *Shaykh* was hereditary from father to son. This was not considered inconsistent with the principle of selection, for the office could only be inherited with the approval of the elders of the trade, who took into consideration the candidate's past services and reputation. If another man seemed more qualified they selected him.

The *Shawish* (an Arabicised form of *Caus*) was the representative and executive officer of the *Shaykh al-ḥirfa*, who stood in the same relation to him as the *naqib* to the *Shaykh al-MaShaykh*, but the *Shawish* could only be appointed with the approval of the electors, while *Naqib* was suggested by the *Shaykh al-MaShaykh*. The *Shawish* had no powers of his own.

The apprentice (*mubtadi*) worked without pay for a number of years until he reached manhood and mastery of the craft (sometimes, however, he received a small weekly wage according to merit). He then became a journeyman (*ṣanā`ī*). If he did not achieve mastery, his wages remained low, and he was not allowed to open on his own account.

The journeymen, in Qoudsi's time, formed the backbone of every guild, and were in a large majority. Through them, the compactness of the craft was preserved and the secrets of craftsmanship were transmitted.

In contrast in the Egyptian guilds, at about the same time, the *Shaykh al-MaShaykh* was unknown, the guilds being under the general control of the chief of police. The guild head (called *Shaykh al-Tai'fah*), was entitled to supervise the workers, to adjudge professional conflicts, to punish faults. In case of necessity he gathered a council of *Mukhtars* (vice guild-heads = elders), which formed a sort of corporative court of justice. The grade of journeyman did not exist, the apprentice, on initiation, becoming at once *Usta*, or master. A masterpiece was required.

Qoudosi¹² notes that, the first connection between a young apprentice (*mubtadi*) and his craft is when the master takes him into his shop, where *Fatihah* (First Chapter of Qurān) is recited and the apprentice is said to have entered the first of the 'gates' (*abwab* pl. of *bab* = gate or door) of the guild, in the presence of some members of the guild. This is called joining (*iltiham*) the trade or craft.

The apprentice learns a craft from his master, receives no salary or wage for a number of years, and through his guild integrates socially in the community. Some of the apprentices receive weekly pay commensurate with their skill, but they continue to be in the rank of *mubtadi* until they reach manhood and attain proficiency in their craft. Before initiation, their pay remains fairly low and they are not allowed to open shops of their own. This makes the apprentice eager to attain high standards and undergo initiation.

As an apprentice mastered the craft, the members of the guild start urging the *Shaykh* to initiate him. The *Shaykh* himself, however, does not respond easily and delays the initiation without discouraging the apprentice by saying: 'This fellow is doing well but his time has not yet come'. Or he says: 'That fellow has the making of a good craftsman, but his syrup is still thin', meaning that he should remain eager and diligent in his work. When, however, the *Shaykh* feels that the time has come he initiates him. The *Shaykh* registers his name with other candidates if there are any, so that they may be initiated together in one ceremony. The initiation ceremony is attended by *Shaykh al-MaShaykh* and his *naqib*, all members of the guild and some guests.

12. According to Yusuf Ibish, Commercial institutions, in *The Islamic City* (ed. by Serjeant, 1976, Paris) pp 14 - 25 .

The ceremony was held in one of the city' gardens and it was by day, where guilds had no house of their own, or in the house of some member of the guild, in this case it might either be during the day or at night. All members of the guild and their *Shaykh* and his *naqib* as well as the guild invited guests to attend the ceremony at an appointed time. Then *shawish* brings in the initiate, and stops him in the middle of the assembly (*majlis*) on a green carpet. The *naqib* then orders the *shawish* to recite the *Fatihah* (the 1st chapter of the Holy Qurān), which he does in a loud voice. Then he addresses the *majlis* in the following manner:

Peace be upon you. Men of excellence with your leave I shall open the 'carpet of the path'. Or shall I leave it rolled up, dear people? Recite with me, all of you, the *Fatihah* for the Elect Prophet.'

All present then recite the *Fatihah* in a low voice, except for the *shawish*, who repeats it in a loud voice.

This was followed by girding of the belt (this is either an ordinary belt or a *shawl*), where it is performed by the *naqib*. He stretches out the belt and encircles it round the initiate from his waist to near his feet, and, bringing the upper edges from the back to the front, ties them in three knots, the first in honour of the *Shaykh* of the guild, the second of the initiate's master and the third of the *shawish*. Because of *Shaykh* he alone is entitled to untie the first of the three knots because he is the head of the guild, so that the initiate may unmistakably know that it is to him that he owes obedience. The second is untied by the master so that the initiate may know that his skill comes from the master. The *shawish* unties the third knot because he is one of the three officials that the initiate must submit to in the trade. Also these knots are symbolic of the pledge and pact of brotherhood (*`aqd al-`ahd*) as from then on the members of the guild consider the initiate as one of them. When the three knots are untied, the *naqib* recites:

I have opened the gate of the way, hoping for blessings from the Creator of all creation, the Lord of souls, I have come after asking permission; with the *Fatihah* I crave forgiveness for my sins and transgressions;

This is for the administering of the pledges, the keeping of which brings the greatest of blessings;

From its place of origin the covenant came to your father Adam;
Oh free man, so take good note;

And from him it passed to Seth and the initiate Idris, and thence to all God's Prophets;

Their Seal is the Sayyid of the two Worlds, our Muhammad,
Light of the Law, Lofty in glory and magnanimity,

The Pledge was brought by Sacred Verses; he who keeps it will
receive blessings and bounties;

He who betrays it, his trade will not succeed, and

What punishment will be his on the Day of Judgement.

He then turns to the initiate and says:

I charge you, you who are being received in brotherhood and
receiving the pledge, fear the Lord of the Worlds; your pledge
and your initiation will be your witnesses on that Day when we
all stand perplexed. He who keeps it will be in the keeping of the
Lord of Heaven; he who betrays it will be numbered among
those who are far from God. I seal my words by reciting the
praises of Muhammad the Elect, the Imam of the Worlds. Amen.

This is followed by a recitation of the *Fatiḥah*.

When the *naqib* has finished the recitation of the Verses and the *Fatiḥah*, he
appoints one of the masters present to be "trade father" (*ab bi -`l- kar*) to the initiate. In
most cases, it is the initiate's master who becomes his trade father, but it is permissible
for him to choose someone else. The trade father is always the initiate's surety, and
answerable for all his offences¹³.

The *Shaykh* of the guild then gives the initiate advice:

My son, all the guilds are trades which are in a position of trust
as regards money, property and lives. Trust is religion; if your
trade fails, keep your religion. Be truthful and trustworthy. Your
trade is like your property; guard it with all your might. If you
receive people's money do not abuse their trust by squandering
it. Beware of betraying the members of your guild, for the traitor
shall surely be judged.

He then turns to those present and asks them:

'What say you, brethren and artisans and masters; is this initiate
worthy of becoming an artisan?'

And they answer him: "Yes, he is worthy and deserving."

The initiate's trade father then approaches him to administer the solemn pledges.
Facing each other, they both make a half prostration, that is to say, their right knees are

¹³. In many cases the father-in-trade becomes the father-in-law.

on the ground while their left legs are half bent. They then approach each other until their right thumbs and their left knees are touching. The trade father then takes the initiate's right hand in his own right hand in an ordinary brotherly handshake, except that each grasps the thumb and forefinger of the other with his own thumb and forefinger. While they are doing this the *shawish* covers their hands with a handkerchief or a towel, so that outsiders, if any are present, may not see the sign they are exchanging. The father then says to the postulant: "Swear to me by the oath of God and His Apostle that you will not betray the members of the guild or play false with the trade." To which the postulant replies: "I swear by the Oath of God and His Apostle that I will not betray the members of the guild or play false with the trade in any way."

This was followed by a simple meal which is called the *tamliḥah* (salting). Salt has a symbolic value to the guilds; it stands as a bond among men who share it and the artisans are known as 'the salt of the bazaars' meaning the hard core of the workers who earn their living by sweat and patience.

The transition from the rank of *ṣanā'ī* (artisan) to that of *mu'allam* (master) was marked by an examination of proficiency in the craft. According to Qoudsi, *ṣanā'ī* whose skill had been acknowledged by his master and other masters, was first brought before the *Shaykh* on their recommendation and examined by him; if found qualified to become a master, he was brought before an assembly (*majlis*) of the guild. The *Shaykh* asked the assembly: "What say you, brethren? Is he worthy of becoming a master?" If he were considered worthy, the answer was in the affirmative and he was congratulated with the words: "May God grant it as a blessing to you."

In some cases, the *ṣanā'ī* was required to produce a refined sample of his work before his promotion was considered. The product was put before the assembly and the *Shaykh* opened the meeting by saying: "Judge by this if you be just, whether or not this man be worthy of promotion to the rank (*martabah*) of a master." The object was then examined and if it were found to be defective the man's promotion was postponed. The guild was more concerned with the maintenance of its reputation and high standards than in pleasing any artisan or his master.

The selection of a new *Shaykh* depended upon the approval of *Shaykh al-Mashayikh*, where the elders, masters, and artisans of the guild went with their new *Shaykh* to the *Shaykh al-Mashayikh*, and they said: "We have appointed so-and-so to be our *Shaykh*." A green carpet was spread in front of *Shaykh al-Mashayikh*, and he stood on it and invited the new *Shaykh* to join him for the administration of the solemn

pledges. After this, the new *Shaykh* is said to have 'stood on *Shaykh al-Mashayikh*'s carpet' meaning that he was confirmed in his office by the highest authority. The term of office was unlimited; the *Shaykh* held it all his life i.e. as long as he was physically and mentally able to discharge his duties in a just and upright manner.

The *Shaykh* had the right to call meetings, at which he presided, for the discussion of the affairs of the guild. It was also his duty to ensure that the regulations of the trade were respected and to penalize those who infringed the privileges of the craft.

Also *Shaykh* was called upon to find work for labourers, in which case he recommended them to the masters. He alone had the right to initiate skilled apprentices into artisans and artisans into masters. He granted permission to a master to open a new shop in the guild's *suq* or section of the *suq*. He represented his guild before the government on matters which concerned the guild, especially in matters relating to taxation. He settled disputes among the guild members, mobilized them in cases of emergencies and led them in public ceremonies and processions.

The authority of *Shaykh al-Mashayikh* in the Islamic city was very great. He was the *Shaykh* of the *Mashayikh* of all guilds and Sufi orders and in some cases the doyen of *al-Ashraf*. In this triple capacity he controlled all the guilds and through them the bazaars, i.e. all production and distribution in the city as well as all services. At the same time, he was the *Shaykh* of the *Mashayikh* of the Sufi orders and through them he co-ordinated the affairs of the Lodges (*Khanqahs*, *Zawiyahs* and *Takiyyahs*) and their trust funds (*Awqaf* or *Hubus*). Also, those who were not organized in guilds were in most instances members of Sufi orders and hence fell under the authority of *Shaykh al-Mashayikh*. In more than one way he counterbalanced the temporal powers of kings and sultans with his spiritual authority, where many rulers in Islamic history were also members of the Sufi orders and submitted to the inner hierarchy of the *taryqah*, even if they were the rulers in the political sphere.

Lewis draws a conclusion from his survey of the Islamic guilds. He points to four distinctive qualities, marking off the guild organisations of Islam from those that have grown up in Europe, as follows:

- The Islamic guild was, unlike the European guild, a spontaneous development from below, created, not in response to a state need, but to the social requirements of the labouring masses themselves.

- The Islamic guild was free from the inner social differentiation between the guild classes. The rank of journeyman never developed into a permanent social group without hope of ever attaining mastership, where in Islam, master, journeyman, and apprentice remain essentially of the same class, in close personal contact.
- Islamic guilds were open to Jew, Christian and Muslim alike, some guilds, being even predominantly non-Muslim, which made them more interconfessionalism
- Islamic guild was never a purely professional organisation. From the days when the guilds formed a part of the masonic system of the Qarmatis, until the present day, they have always had a deep-rooted ideology, a moral and ethical code, which was taught to all beginners at the same time as the craft itself.

II] "*Tarykh al-`Iraq al-Iqtisadi fi al-Qarn al-Rabi` `shr*" [(Arabic) **The Economic History of Iraq During the Tenth Century], by Al-Dūrī¹⁴, A., Beirut, 1974**

" It is clear that the direction of Ikhuwan Asafa don't consider lineage in classifying people but they classified people according to materilistic standards; to what people have and to what people profess. " (p. 86).

In his historical and economic study, Al-Dūrī concentrates on the economic life of Iraq during the tenth century AD and on various aspects of the social life at the centre of the `Abbasid Caliphate' of the time. He confirms that all members of different crafts belonged to groups that were known as "*al-aṣṇaff* " (sing. *ṣanff* = guild). These were characterised by the "lineage" of their *sanā`īah* (sing. of *sanā`i* = craftsman) or "*hirrafīn*" (sing. of *harrfī*) which was similar to the conventional lineage of a tribe. For example, a craftsmen would be called "*ibn al-jarrah* = son of the surgeon"¹⁵ and "*ibn al-jasass* = son of the gypsum maker"¹⁶ and so on. Each guild acted as a kind of a union the aim of which was to protect the common welfare of its members (as illustrated by the case of a clash that took place between the food-sellers and the shoe-makers in Musil in 919 as reported by Al-Dūrī).

14. This book is based on an unpublished PhD dissertation bearing the same title (1940-1942). The book was translated into Arabic in 1948. It contains references to 185 Arabic ref., 85 Western ref. and 36 articles.

15. A minster in the Abbasiad government - Ali ibn less- was known by that name because of his father's profession. While in this particular case, the minister was not a guild member, there were cases of related guild members who were called after their ancestor's profession or craft.

16. A famous Iraqi merchant in 883-895.

" Each craft has a chief among its members whether appointed or approved by government. He was *Shaykh al - hīrfah*. Then, teachers come next. They were masters of *hīrfah*. Followed by *sana`a*, who knew craft very well. At the bottom is *al-mubtadi* who joins the craft and is under learning process " (p. 92).

Al-Dūrī also describes the ranking of *hīrfīn* or *sanā`iah*, and confirms that each *hīrfah* had a *Shaykh* who was known as *Shaykh al-hīrfah* (head of the craft's guild) and was appointed by the craftsmen themselves and approved by the *wālī*. The description of Al-Dūrī includes a detailed view about the ways by which the *Shaykh* gains his title according to the norms of the *hīrfah*. He also discusses the ranks of the *mu`allam* (teacher/master) followed by the *sanā`i* (craftsman) and the rank of *`umāl* (n. sing. of *`āmal* apprentice).

Similarly, Al-Dūrī, referring to the classification of Ad-Dimashqī¹⁷ describes the ranking of *tajārr*(sing.of *tājarr*= merchant), as follows: firstly, *al-rakkad* (the road-runner) who was a merchant who travels to different countries comparing the price of the goods he wants to import, along with the taxes and costs of transportation) with the list price of the particular goods in his *suq*. Secondly, *al-khazzan* (store-keeper) who was a merchant who buys goods that are made available in the market as a result of less demand or more supply in the *suq*. He purchases these with less value and stores them until demands are raised and then sells them back for higher prices. Thirdly, *Al-mujahiz* (the supplier) who was a merchant with *wukalā* (sing. *wakyl* = agents or representative) who buys and sells goods on his behalf for a specified salary. Finally, *Al-wusatā* (sing. *wasyt* or *simсар* = middleman) who were commissioned to sell goods on the behalf of the merchant for a certain percentage.

" It is the perfect description of craftsmanship in the fourth century (Hejrah), of what Ikhwan As-sfa had in their epistles. In these Epistles, we found all crafts are classified in standard principles. " (p. 98).

Al-Dūrī classifies the different categories of people who were operating within the traditional *suq*. He did this by basing his classification on *rasa'il* of Ikhwan al-Safaa¹⁸ who were an underground anti-Abbasid' group. This movement started in Basrah or Baghdad and spread to all Islamic countries, persuading people to revolt against the government using both religion and politics to deliver their messages. They published their *rasa'il* (51 or 53 letters) in which they did not follow the conventional

17. Abu Al-Fadul , *al-asharh ela muhasin at-tajarh* ({ Arabic } Trade Advantages), Cairo, 1898. P. 51

18. All contemporary researchers deviate in determining the actual nature of Ikhwan *al-Safa'* as to whether they belonged to the *Mu`atazlah* , *Sufi* or *Shai`ah* .

lineage of tribes or cities in their classification of society structure but rather considered professions and incomes as essential classification criteria. They classified people into different groups as follows:

1- *Ṣunnā`* (craftsmen): people who work with their bodies and tools and live with what they get from their product.

2- *Tajārr* (The merchants): people who buy with "give- and-take", earning some increase in what they take rather than they give.

3- *Al-Aghniā* (The rich): people who have the capital and raw materials.

Al-Dūrī refers to some serious crises of the time that had a direct impact on the classification of craftsmen, the wars of the *Zenj* (869- 883) and *Garamitah* (874- 926). These were two rival groups, similar to *Ikhwan al-Safaa* in their aims (anti-Abbasid). These groups classified themselves into two main categories: *Ahrar* (sing. *hurr* = free-men) who were also known as *ṣunnā`* (craftsmen), and *`Abeed* (sing. *`Abd* = slave). The latter was divided into black-African slaves who were employed in domestic services or as farmers, and *Mawalee* (sing. *muwla* = servant/slave) who were mostly non-Arab (from Turkish, Kurds, Asian, and Barbaric origins, but spoke Arabic).

Generally speaking, this brief history that Al-Dūrī presents indicates the existence of certain classifications of social groups in accordance to their race or profession and that they came under the category of *aṣnāff* or guilds. The internal organisation of traditional *suq*, according to Al-Dūrī followed an organised set of ranks, each of which featured certain skills and activities.

III] "Muslim Cities in the later Middle Ages", by Lapidus, Ira M., Great Britain, 1984.

This book is a study of the social and political processes of the cities of Egypt and Syria in the Mamluk era (1250- 1517). It mainly concentrates on Damascus and Aleppo with supporting studies of the Mamluk capital of Cairo.

Lapidus referred to two different types of craft corporations in the Mediterranean guild-system: the guilds of western Europe and the guilds of the Byzantine Empire. Guilds, according to Lapidus, are distinguished from the more

inclusive category of fraternal societies. Guilds refer to single or allied crafts and trades that existed to serve the economic as well as the social interests of their members.

" Professional, merchant, and artisan guilds were virtually nonexistent, and what rudimentary forms did exist were created by the state for its own purposes rather than by the solidarity and self-interest of the members. The so-called corporations of physicians, surgeons, and oculists are so designated only because chiefs called *raises* were appointed by the state to maintain standards of teaching, practice, and discipline in the professions. There is no indication that these functionaries represented guild solidarities." (p.96).

Similar to what Al-Dūrī describes as *aṣnāff* (guilds) in Iraq, Lapidus confirms that the guilds of Western Europe were, characteristically, voluntary and self-governing associations. These were founded as religious fraternities, which were later based on economic defence or aggrandisement, seeking to protect themselves against constraints either by obtaining legal recognition of their interests or by waging economic and political warfare to assure acceptance of their claims. As corporations, these guilds were responsible in their spheres of activity, and could choose their members, select their leaders, and dispose of resources considered as belonging not to any one member but to the group as a whole. Guilds were more or less autonomous, organised, and well founded in the adherence and loyalty of their members, but none of the variations in principle affected their essential quality as voluntary associations whose members were responsible in common.

According to Lapidus, the guilds of the Byzantine Empire differed from those of Western Europe in that the former corporations were organised by the police powers of the state, not by the voluntary adhesion of the members. Created to fulfil economic functions, they were granted monopolies in their spheres. Nonetheless they were never autonomous and possessed neither treasuries nor officers elected at the pleasure of the members. Rules for their functioning were drafted and enforced from without. Though this did not preclude solidarity within the corporations, it removed control over economic affairs from the artisans and tradesman.

" Strictly speaking, neither the European nor the Byzantine type of guild was to be found in the bazaars of the Muslim City. In the Mamluk period, trades and crafts were subject, like the Byzantine guilds, to rigorous external controls intended to keep worker activities within certain political, economic, fiscal, and moral bounds. But supervision did not entail incorporation. In Muslim towns, basic control of trades and crafts was delegated to the *muḥtasibs* or market inspectors." (p. 96) .

Their obligation to promote good and prevent evil, and their economic duties were an extension of the desire for the moral communal life. The market-inspectors were responsible for upholding fair and honest business practices. They supervised the quality of manufacture, eliminating fraud and unfair competition, regulated the grain markets, and were vested with authority to control prices and coinage value in times of crises. Moreover, they had an important part in the collection of market taxes.

Lapidus claims that though there were no guilds in the true sense of the word in Damascus and Aleppo, there seems to have been one religious fraternity based on craft affiliation and thus capable of acting on behalf of the economic interests of its members. This was a Sufi fraternity of silk workers (*ḥariri*) in Damascus. What primary forms did exist were created by the state for its own purposes rather than by the solidarity and self-interest of the members, such as the so-called corporations of physicians, surgeons, and oculists. Lapidus states that there is no indication that their functionaries represented guild solidarity.

He also claims that merchants in the cities he studied were not organised into guilds. In the fourteenth century the *karimi* or merchants in the spice trade between Egypt and India, were supervised by a *raiyyis* who was selected from within the group, but appointed by the state to act on its behalf for the organisation of the merchants' banking, diplomatic, and commercial duties to the state. As in the case of the *raiyyis* of the medical professions, the evidence that Lapidus draws from does not point to merchant guilds, but only to state efforts to utilise the wealth and influence of a leading merchant for its own purposes. Aside from the *karimi* chiefs, there were only five examples of *raiyyis* of merchants. In the three cases for which there is further information, there is an indication that the title was for an official post rather than the leadership of a guild association. Three of the *row'asa'* (sing. of *raiyyis*) were state officials, and two of them were involved in the oriental spice trade. The merchant, *al-Tibi*, who travelled between China and Hormouz in the fourteenth century AD, was called *raiyyis tajārr* (chief of the merchants). Another *raiyyis tajārr* had a part in the sugar monopolies of Sultan Barsbay. The third was *raiyyis* of the merchants of Makkah.

Similarly, local merchants in the markets of important towns were supervised by *shayukh* of the markets. We usually know them only by their titles : a *Shaykh* of the Damascus gold *suq*, a merchant who was *Shaykh* of a *qaysariyya*, a pharmacist *Shaykh* of his *suq*, and others. These *shayukh* were appointed by the governor of the city from among the notable merchants, but they were not chiefs of merchant

corporations. Indeed in one case a merchant wished to refuse the post and was beaten into accepting it. These *shayukh* were responsible for discipline, prevention of fraud, and collection of taxes. In the fifteenth century, a *Shaykh* levied an inspection tax on the millers of Aleppo, and the *Shaykh* of Damascus market belonging to the *waqf* (endowment) of the hospital was concerned with the misappropriation of its revenue by the administrators of the hospital.

In traditional Muslim cities, according to Lapidus, other official-sounding titles might seem to imply merchant organisations. The terms *kabyr tajārr* (head of the merchants), *tājarrīkabyr* (prominent merchant), or *al-a`yan* (notables) are occasionally used. But in only one instance do they actually indicate an official position. In the mid-fifteenth century, Badr al-din Hassan, who had been a commissioner in Jeddah and supervisor of the sanctuaries of Makkah, became *kabyr* of the merchants. *Al-a`yan*, however, is occasionally used in a context which implies the role of a spokesman. No evidence suggests, however, that *al-a`yan* meant anything but, "most prominent, richest" from whom the state wanted money.

What can be learnt from the accounts of Lapidus about the different guild systems that Muslim cities might have gained during the period of the Mamluk and later the Ottomans, is that there existed some kind of internal organisation that was aimed at regulating the affairs of the different groups operating within the *suq*. This organisation was either established by the state or by concerned tradesmen. We can also learn about the existence of a leader of craftsmen in the cities of Jeddah and Makkah which was supported by evidence from historians from these cities as will be seen later.

IV] "Makkah" in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century.", by C. Snouk Hurgronje, London, 1931.

" However, the *mutawwifs* of each nationality form by themselves again a more or less closed group : the pilgrims have not only their own language, but also their own customs, their own preferred holy places; and all this naturally gives rise to special business circles and special interests. So the *mutawwifs* of the Turks, Egyptians, Maghrebis, Indians, Jawah etc. each form a small guild of themselves under their respective *Shaykh*, "*Shaykh* of Turk, Egyptain " etc and the head of a division is called a *Shaykh* of *Shaykhs* (*Shaykh al- maShaykh*) ". (p. 27).

" There is a similar state of things in every guild, but in none are the traditional rules so strictly observed as this most important and most nummerically strong of all guilds ". (p. 28).

C. Snouk Hurgronje who visited Makkah in the early 20th century, provides some information about the *muṭūfūn*¹⁹ guilds (sing. *muṭūf* = pilgrimage guideline). These were divided into two categories: large-scale *tuwāfah* or those who deal with large numbers of pilgrims by employing a whole army of sons, relatives, slaves and a variety of other permanent and temporary employees. The other category is the family-carried *tuwāfah* or those who serve only a small number of pilgrims with the help of their families, their servants or some of their friends. In his book, Hurgronje dealt mainly with the large-scale *muṭūfūn* and their helpers; *wakalā* (sing. *wakyl* = representative or agent whom all *muṭūfūn* of Makkah would send to Jeddah), *dalylīn* (sing. *dalyl* = guides), and *muzawwiryin* (sing. *muzawwir* = lit. visit-guide)²⁰.

This guild as described by Hurgronje was very organised and very strict. As the guild system is founded on tradition only, anyone is theoretically free to render the *tuwāfah* services to pilgrims for money, but in practice only members of the *tuwāfah*

19. The *muṭūf* makes all arrangements for the pilgrimage towards the completion of this Muslim duty. He provides transportation, tents, provisions, and fuel for the journey to Arafat (outside Makkah) and back, provisions and sheep sacrifices are also bought in the Mina valley through the *muṭūf*. On each detail of the ritual a helper of the *muṭūfūn* instructs the pilgrims who are committed to his care, specially to them in their language and reciting to them the proper formulae which they have to complete. Both before and after the Hadj pilgrims go to Madina to visit the tomb of the prophet. This visit in all cases is not obligatory, but *muṭūf* provides this jounery.

20. *Wakyl* is a representitive of *muṭūf* in the city of Jeddah. He receives pilgrims at the sea port to greet them on behalf of the *muṭūf*. He finds the porters to carry the pilgrims' luggage to the town and declares that from the custom office, he hires accommodation for them. As pilgrims decide to complete the joinery to Makkah, he provides them with transportation. The *Dalyl* shows and guides the pilgrims to *'amrah* (small pilgrimage). He shows pilgrims what to do in all circumstances, and directs that the course of their charity always flows on these occasions. The *Muzawwir* takes pilgrims to visit all holy sites (pilgrimage places; *Muna*, *Araft*, *Muzdalifh*, and all cemeteries).

guild are permitted to serve the pilgrims. In Makkah this was the most important and most numerically strong of all guilds.

" The Guild Master also decides about the admittance of new members, and so it is considered whether competition will not be made too severe by the increase in numbers, and further whether the candidate has acquired claims by honourable conduct and proved capacity. " (p. 28).

In this guild, Hurgronje tells us that only the *Shaykh* of the guild could decide about the admittance of new members, and so it is considered whether competition will not be made too severe by the increase in numbers, or whether the candidate has acquired claims by honourable conduct and proved capacity. The Guild Master, who was appointed by the state, can hardly reject a candidate who is recommended by high officials. It was also the norm that individuals may recommend themselves with equal emphasis by their influential position or by important presents which they hand to the *Shaykh* as an introduction to their candidature. Hurgronje confirms that the *Shaykh* of the guild treated the members as a "good father" and that he served the interests of all of them impartially.

To confirm the admission of the new member, a little guild feast is given to which all guild men are invited by the candidate. The feast is called *me'allamah* (*mu'allam* = master of any trade). Before the whole assembly the candidate says "I ask our *Shaykh* for (leave to practice) the profession which is allowed by God." The guild men reply "who is our *Shaykh* ?" When he has mentioned the latter by name, the guild master asks whether he will obey him and be a good guild-brother to his 'sons'. His affirmative answer is followed by the recitation of the '*Fatiḥah*' (opening chapter of the Qurān) done in whispers and in the attitude of prayer by all those present including perhaps some guests outside the guild. Accordingly, it would be said about a craftsman who has been admitted into a guild: "He has recited the *Fatiḥah* with the *Shaykh* ", or " a treat of coffee has been given for him". Because the chief of a guild is appointed by the government and receives a mantle (*jubbah*) on that occasion, his appointment is denoted by the word " *lbis* " (i.e. he has put on the mantle granted by the government). In such a case the guild-brothers have no traditional claim to be entertained. The *shayukh* then shares with the new brother either a meal or coffee with sweetmeats, to wish him God's blessing.(pp.28- 29)

The main reason for stating this brief historical account is to indicate the strength of the tradition of such a guild which Hurgronje believed to be similar to all other guilds of Makkah at the time. This was also confirmed by the head of the

carpenter's guild of Jeddah as will be discussed in the next chapter. This not only confirms that there existed a well organised guild-system in the traditional cities of Hejaz, especially Jeddah. It also provides some hints about the socio-cultural procedures involved in the admittance to particular guilds. The latter seems to be similar to the admittance to a Sufi *ṭaryqah* (way/sect/school) as described in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

V] "*Muswa`at Tarikh Madinat Jeddah* ", [(Arabic) Encyclopaedia of the History of the City of Jeddah], by Al-Ansari, A., Jeddah, 1982

This book represents one of the most authentic historical records available today about the city of Jeddah. Written by one of Saudi Arabia's most prominent historians, the book provides a description of Jeddah's history from the early 1900s until the 1980s, with an introductory part that covers the history of the city during the early Islamic caliphate. Based on references from different manuscripts of different languages²¹, Al-Ansari's accounts are treated by native scholars as "the most fertile, detailed and authentic source about Jeddah in particular and Hejaz in general " as described by a national monthly magazine.

Although al-Ansari's book does not fully elaborate on the issues of the formation of guilds in the city of Jeddah, he gives a full account of the different *ṭūā'if* (sing. *ṭā'fah* = guild) that constituted the internal organisation of the traditional *aswaq* of the city. He confirms the existence of two main groups of traders in the city: the first group was known as *al-ṣanā'iah* (n. sing. *ṣanā'i* = craftsman), and the second group was known as *tajārr* (sing. *tājarr* = merchants) . Both groups operated under the authority of *shahbandar al-ttajārr/ kabyr al-ttajārr* (head of the merchants' guild). As the head of the merchants' guild, *shahbandar al-ttajārr* was selected by the merchants and approved by the government. He was usually a member of one of the oldest - and richest - merchant families of the city. The title of *shahbandar al-ttajārr/ kabyr al-ttajārr*

²¹ - For example, a book by Nasir-i Khusraw, *Safarnama*, ed. Dabirsiyaqi, Tehran, n.d., pp.85-6
 - Carsten Niebur, *Travels through Arabia and other countries in the East*, Edinburgh, 1792, vol. 1, 226 et seq.
 - The German, Eduard Rueppel, visited Jeddah during the course of his travels in the 1820's. The results of his scientific investigations into the geography of the Red Sea were published in Germany in 1829.
 - Tamisier's account of his visit to Jeddah in 1834 was published as part of the record of his experiences in Arabia when serving as one of a number of European officers with an Egyptian expeditionary force which was sent the Hedjaz in the 1830s.
 - Charles Didier was another Frenchman who was in Jeddah in 1854.
 - T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, London, 1965, p72
 - Angelo Pesce, *Jeddah, Portrait of an Arabian City*, 1977.
 - J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829.

was indicative of a high social status and was hereditary²². The duties of the head of the merchants' guild were many, some of which were his role as a spokesman on behalf of the merchants before the governor or *wālī*, tax-collection from the merchants, and as a judge in cases of disputes between members of the guild, as well as those between the guild and the public prior to the involvement of the authorities .

Every *suq* or *wakālah* in traditional Jeddah had a *Shaykh* who was usually a member of one of the prominent and oldest mercantile families of the *suq*. His permanent presence in the *suq* was compulsory for close supervision of trading transactions between the merchants or the craftsmen of the *suq* as well as the supervision of the activities of the whole market. He was usually assisted by one *kātib* (clerk/secretary) and a *naqib* (officer)²³.

The *al-ṣanā'iah* were those concerned with the *ṣan'ah* and its perfection. Some of these *hirraff* / *ṣanā'at* (n. sing. *ḥirrafah* / *ṣan'ah* = crafts) were simple, others were complex. Each *ḥirrafah* / *ṣan'ah* had a *Shaykh* who was known as *Shaykh al-ḥirrafah* (head of the craft's guild) and was appointed by the craftsmen themselves and approved by the *wālī*²⁴. The *Shaykh* could inherit this position from an old master of the craft, or gain the title as a result of his natural promotion in the guild of the craft according to the norms of the *ḥirrafah* . Second rank came the *mu'allam* (teacher/master) followed by the *ṣanā'i* (craftsman). A *ṣanā'i* could work in a *ḥānūt* supervised by the *mu'allam* of the *hirrafah*. Finally, there was the rank of *'ummāl* (n. sing. *'āmal* = apprentice).

Each *ṣan'ah* had its own *'urff* (n.pl. *a'rāf* = norms and conventions) and *sunah* (custom). The *a'rāf* of each guild were recognised by *qāḍi* (local judge) and *muḥtasib* (*suq*'s superintendent).²⁵ The following list is the *ṣanā'at*(crafts) or *ṭūā'if* (guilds) of Jeddah:

²² Al-Ansari stated that in the city of Jeddah, the merchant families of Mohammed al-'Amarey's sons inherited this prominent title after their father's death, and so did the sons of Mohammed at-Tawel, one of the richest merchants in Jeddah in 1854.

²³ According to al-Ansari, in the city of Jeddah, the following maintained this position for a number of years:

-Al-Haj Abdulallah Ali, *shaykh* of the imported-goods *wakala* in 1844.

-Sidi Bakri Afindi, *shaykh* of the Indian *qasaba* (wakala).

-Abdarrahim Bradah and Abdulrahman Maghrabi, *shaykh* of *al-harag* *suq* (auction market).

²⁴ Every craft had a guild and a guild leader (*shaykh*). They were usually know by their crafts like "the shaykh of the Damascus gold *suq*"; "the merchant *shaykh* of the *qaysariyya*"; "the pharmacist *shaykh* of the *suq*"; and so on. Those *shayukh* (n.sing. *shaykh*) were again selected from within the guild and approved by the governor of the town. They were mainly from among the notable merchants' class, but they were not chiefs of merchant corporations. The *shayukh* were responsible for the discipline of the craft members, prevention of fraud, and collection of taxes within the guild.

²⁵ Al-Muordi confirmed this in his "*Ahkam al-hisbah*." (Al-muordi, 231).

- 1- Pastry' makers (*Al-muṭbqinyh*; those who make *muṭabaq* = a Hejazi meal)
- 2- Cotton manufacturer;
- 3- Carpentry;
- 4- Builders;
- 5- Shoemakers (*Al-khrazūn* ; n. sing. *kharrāz*);
- 6- Horse smith;
- 7- Sea-porters (*Ḥummāl al-bahr*);
- 8- warehouse-porters (*Hummāl al-ahuishah* [*al-ahuishah* n. sing. *ḥush* = warehouse);
- 9- Harbour supervisors (*Al-m`aadi*; ²⁶)
- 10- Water-bearers (*Al-Saqqayyn* ²⁷);
- 11- Millers (*Al-Taḥḥanyyn* ; n. sing. *taḥḥān*);
- 12- Butter merchants (*Smmānyyn* ;n. sing. *smmān*);
- 13- Potters (*Fakhraniyyah* ; n. sing. *fakharani*);
- 14- Fruit seller(*Fakahniyyah* ; n. sing. *fakahani*);
- 15- Beads seller and makers (*Subaḥiyyah*, n. sing. *subaḥi*).

From these accounts by Lewis', Hurgronje, Al-Dūrī and al-Ansari, we find great similarities between the terminology used to describe the different crafts of the traditional *aswaq* within Islamic cities and those of Jeddah. The internal organisation of guilds is also consistent. What is of concern to us is the fact that such institutions were active in the traditional *aswaq* of Arabia as well as in other regions of the world, like *muṭūfūn* in Makkah and *ṭūā'if* in Jeddah. What remains to be identified are the exact particularities of the guilds in Jeddah as the case study of the research. The following part of this chapter describes the nature and structure of the Jeddah *aswaq* and the social institutions operating within them.

26- *Tai'f* (guild) *al-m`aadi* was responsible for the supervision of *al-mina* (harbour), in terms of ships movement and the process of loading. They also supervised the *sanabeek* . Abdulallah Abu Bakr was the *shaykh* of this *tai'fah* in 1884, with 250 *sanbook* with 600 *`amal* (sailor) under his shaykdom.

27- They used *qirbah* animal skins to carry water or *zifah*, which consisted of two metal cans tied with ropes to a wooden stick, and was carried on the shoulder.

4. 2 Internal organisation in the city of Jeddah :

The French traveller, Charles Didier, who was in Jeddah in 1854, asserts that²⁸:

It is well stocked with all sorts of merchandise, mostly imported, and locally-produced or exotic foodstuff. Damascus, Baghdad, Iran, Egypt and especially India, are all represented by their natural or manufactured products.

(Howell, 1985, p.181)

Suq is full of wide range of different commodities, each of them are conducted through a special institution. It is neither possible nor appropriate to describe the social institutions operating in the *suq*. These social institutions, referred in this thesis as 'internal organisation', are very complicated in relationship in each other. In order to clarify the complexity of their relationship, I will take some examples of different goods or products, some imported and some made locally, some raw materials and some finished products. I will describe the process of transfer from source to consumer, identifying various hands and processes they pass through, especially in relation to *suq*. Also I have chosen some crafts like; catering, building construction, and renting party supplies. These crafts use more raw materials, some of them take place inside the *suq* and some of them take place outside the *suq*, but all of them have a place in the *suq* as we will see later in this chapter.

The examples of materials are wood, grain, and gold. These goods are among the greatest goods found in the *suq* in Jeddah. They also pass through many hands and processes as we will see later in this chapter. Also, they were well represented in the data obtained in the field trip.

Before we go through these examples, there is one point we should bear in mind, that Jeddah produces nothing originally and completely locally, except some products like palm leaves, and procelain products. All other local products are made from raw materials imported to Jeddah.

However, before discussing the trade process as illustrated through these examples, I will outline the import trade process, transshipment, Jeddah' Sea Port, and discharging of imported products.

²⁸- Many other travellers visited Jeddah; - Carsten Niebur, Eduard Rueppel, Tamisier, T. E. Lawrence, and J. L. Burckhardt.

Import was through commercial agents and *Al-Biūt At-Tijāryah*²⁹ (merchant families). All import trade proceeded through these agents and *Al-Biūt At-Tijāryah*. For example, for the import of wood, there was a British agency belonging to the British Eastern India company, and a Dutch agency belonging to Romer Dutch Lewed. Through these Agents and *Al-Biūt*, goods and products were imported according to the *suq* demands.

Once goods and products are determined, agents and *Al-Biūt*, take over the process of import and transport them from their sources to Jeddah by shipment. The Jeddah' merchant, Ba`ishin³⁰, said in his dairy [as it stated in *Musu`ah tarykh Jeddah* , (Encylcopeadia of Jeddah History) by Al-Ansari] that the process of import was either by telex to the branch of *Al-Biūt At-Tijāryah*, or by getting goods or products directly from their sources through their agents. Those who telex paid the representatives in Jeddah.

Once all requested goods and products were loaded into ships, they sailed to Jeddah. Burckhardt described the transhipmen of Indian goods to Jeddah :

" The fleets, principally from Calcutta, Surat, and Bombay, reach Djidda in the begining of May, where they find the merchants already prepared for them. ... The Indian fleets return in June or July."

(Burckhardt, 1829, p.25)

The sea port lies between reefs and was so shallow that in the season of low water it was difficult to avoid grounding. All loaded ships embarked off shore at three miles distance. So, small boats called *sanabyk* (n. pl. of *sanbuk*)³¹ took over the process of unloading the imported goods to the harbour. These boats were navigated by native pilots who knew the reefs location.

²⁹-*Al-Biūt* is a plural of *Bīt* which literature means house but it has another meaning which is family. *At-Tijāryah* is an adjective, derived from *Tijārah* which means commerce or trade. There were *Al-Biūt At-Tijāryah*. Some of these *Al-Biūt At-Tijāryah* were, originally, from India, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Yemen, or Java. They established trade with their origin, like *Bīt Na`yif*, *Bīt Zynal*, *Bīt Bānajah*, *Bīt Bā`ishan*, *Bīt Zāhd*, *Bīt Hazāz*, *Bīt Al-fadhul*, *Bīt Matbūly*, *Bīt Al-mughraby*, *Bīt Al-bssām*, *Bīt Qābal*, *Bīt Abārr*, *Bīt Jamjūm*, *Bīt Bāghafārr*, *Bīt Al-linjāūy*, *Bīt Al-taūyl*, *Bīt Al-flūyl*, *Bīt Al-Kābly*, *Bīt Al-shabkshy*, etc.

³⁰- Import trader in the late ninteenth century and early 20th century and his family continued his profession.

³¹- These boats had a capacity of 10 *balat*, each *balah* weight 100 lb.

Discharging the loaded ships was described by Milburn³², in his account about Jeddah. The Enubar and officers of the harbor came off, and demanded a manifest of cargo. Then, they lift two custom-house officers on board, who remained till the cargo was all delivered by small boats. These boats took products to the custom house in the harbour, where they were taxed. Unloading imported goods from the board of the ship to the *sanabyk* or boats were by *ḥammāl al-Kobri*, while *ḥammāl al-Farthah* from the *sanabyk* to the harbour ground. The last group was responsible for the arrangement of the goods in warehouses according to the ship's manifesto and the requests of the cargo owners. Another group of porters were *ḥammāl al-Zamlah*, and those had the task of carrying the goods from the harbour ground to the import merchant's *aḥuāsh* (n. pl. of *ḥūsh* = warehouse).

Once goods were declared from the port and taxed each merchant took his goods to his *ḥūsh* (n. single of *aḥuāsh* = warehouse). In many cases *ḥūsh* is surrounded by rooms used for storing goods in the case of rain, and called *qa`ah*.. Sometimes, *ḥūsh* or *qa`ah* was used as a resident for merchants, with rooms on the upper floor and a gate for security and control. Here its name was changed to *wakālah* or *qasbah*.

Here, I have to mention that when ships arrived at the port, or others wanted to depart, there was *al-munady* (caller or herald). *Al-munady* was a person who notified merchants that ships had arrived and contained so and so. He did that inside *suq* with very loud voice. Al - Muabady stated that there was a person called Sadaqah Haluany who walked inside *aswaq* informing merchants about the arrival and departure of ships (Al - Muabady, 1989, p. 182).

Wood:

Wood is hardly found in the Jeddah area (Hejaz), except cutting trees used for firewood or making charcoal. So, it was imported. It is a good example to choose as it can be considered as a raw material imported (in the form of panels, posts and sheets) or a finished products (like furniture).

Let us take wood as a raw material in the form of panels, posts and sheets, imported from India and Java as well as Africa. Once wood was stored in *ḥūsh* , where it was guarded by keepers, it could not come out without *fasaḥ* (permission) signed

³². William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, London, 1825, pp 56 - 64. This book is based on data collected during many years' employment in the service of the East India Company and in the course of seven voyages to India and China.

by the owner of the *ḥūsh* . Once wood was declared from the custom house, the import trader started to distribute to wholesalers; or sometimes he himself was a wholesaler as well.

Hamid Atyih, *Shaykh al-njarin* (head of the carpenter guilds), points out that most carpenters obtained their *munah* ³³(which means among *al-njarin* [pl. of *najar* = carpenter] wood supply) either from wholesaler or retailer, depending on the amount needed.

Both large *minjarah* and retailer get their wood from a wholesaler, by taking *fasaḥ* (permission). So, both carpenter and retailer paid the wholesaler for the amount they want in his shop, usually a small shop which displayed samples of goods he sold. Then, the wholesaler wrote a *fasaḥ* (permission) directed to the keepers of his *ḥūsh* , specifying the purchased wood. So, *ḥūsh* keepers registered the sold wood and specified the sold item to porters to carry it, to the buyer's place. Porters called *ḥammāl al-aḥuāsh* operated within the *suq* (where *al-aḥuāsh* were located). Some of them worked as permanent employees for certain merchants on a daily-wage basis and followed the norms of the guild of that particular craft, while others were independent porters but conformed to the norms of the porter's guild. Both carpenter and retailer have storage areas at their own store or workshop.

Now, let us consider the retail side. Retailers sold wood in small quantities to carpenter of small *minjarah*, to builders who used it in their construction, or directly to consumers who used it for other purposes. Wood was stored, again, in *ḥūsh* or within the *dakkān* (n. sing. of *dakākīn* = shop); retailer, salesman, and *ḥammāl* were those who completed the process of selling; retailer and salesman took the process of bargaining and showing the customers the wood wanted, while the *ḥammāl* transferred the wood from the retailer *dakkān* to the customer's place.

On the *ḥirrfīn* side; carpenters, builders and ship - builders, I will take the carpenter as example. Here, once wood reached the carpenter workshop, it was stored in the storage area. It was then cut into sizes according to the contract they were purchased for.

Sizes and measurements were usually marked by *mu'allam* or *ṣanā'i* , who passed it to *āmal* to cut and refine under the supervision of *mu'allam*. Then, *ṣanā'i* fit

³³- It is a technical term used by craftsmen for the raw material they used in producing a finishing product.

all components of the product whether window, door, or single piece of furniture. Finally, *`āmal* transferred to the customer to be fitted there again by *ṣanā'ī*. Hamid gave an example to explain this process. He pointed to a window which is behind his *murkaz* (high wooden sofa), to take an example to describe the process of making an item. He said :

" Like this leaf of this window, it is a shuttered leaf. *Mu'allam* writes and draws measurements of its stands, bases, and shutters. *`āmal*, then, cut according to measurements and *ṣanā'ī* does encurving, fitting hinge, and all details and fitted all together. All are under supervision of *mu'allam*. "

(*Shaykh* Hamid Atyih, October 1992)

So, we have seen wood as a raw material. Now let us take it as a finished product in the form of furniture for example. Wooden furniture was imported from Egypt, Turkey, Europe, and India. Wooden furniture was beds, chairs, tables, and so on. The same process of import was followed until it reached the stage of retailer, where there were people employed to assemble the different parts of the furniture. These people belonged to the retailer. Also some repair these items in the case of damage or for maintenance. Also, the same people were found as in the retailer of the raw wood; the owner of the *dakkān*, salesmen, porters, and assembly employees. Al-Bashah (a merchant of second items) confirmed this form. He said that furniture was imported loose in boxes and bought from the wholesaler. Then, they took these boxes to their *hūsh*, assembled the light furniture because they were easily carried and to save time, and some of them assembled in the place of the customer. He said that his *dakkān* was occupied by salemen, *ḥammāl*, and *murkabyn* (n. pl. of *murkab* = assembly worker).

Following wood as an example of a good from its import trader to the final user, one can trace the social organisation attached to its trading process. The social organisation is organised in the following order :

First is the import stage. At this stage, people here were mainly a few import traders to deal with the source traders and whole salers there. Each import trader had salesmen, writers, and warehouse keepers; guards, clerks and porters.

Second is the wholesale stage. At this stage, people are more numerous than in the import trade. They dealt with finished products of wood and construction of wood. They obtained wood from import traders - import traders were often considered as wholesalers - and sold to retailer in wholesale trade. Sometimes, *ḥirrfīn* - like carpenters, builders, shipbuilders -, who run big contracts, bought from wholesalers.

Wholesaler had employment for salesmen, clerks, porters and store - keepers.

Third is a retail stage. At this stage, people were retailers who formed the majority of the *suq* community from the point of view of the trade. They retailed in both raw and finished products of wood. Trade took place on a very wide scale. Retailers had employed salesmen, clerks, porters and store - keepers. They always had their lane in the *suq* and belonged to one organisation; guild, *muShaykhah*, where headed by *Shaykh*.

Forth is the craftsmanship stage. At this stage, people were known as *ḥirrfīn* (craftsmen). *Ḥirrfīn* were carpenters, builders, and shipbuilders in regard of wood. *Najaryn* (n. pl. of *najar* = carpenter) dealt with retailers in obtaining wood, except large *munjarah* (carpenter's workshop) which got its wood from wholesalers. *Najaryn* were organised in *muShaykhah* (guild) headed by *Shaykh* and ranked with *mu'allam*, *ṣanā'i* and *ʿāmal*.

Grain

The grain trade is the second example I have chosen. Grains are coffee, cardamon, nutmeg, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, pearl millet, rice, wheat, corn, and innumerable other odd herbs, roots, seeds and barks, almonds, pistachios, hazelnuts, melon kernels and pine seeds. All these grains were imported from India and Java, except for coffee from Yemen.

Here, the process of import was the same as we saw in the example of wood. This is confirmed by grain trader Baqys, He said

" In the past, in Jeddah, an import trader gave us a *fasaḥ* (permission) to his *ḥūsh*. *ḥūsh* was a type of warehouse consisting of rooms surrounding an open yard with a gate guarded by keepers" (and he drew the *ḥūsh* as he described).

(*Shaykh* Salam Baqys, October 1992)

There was an import trader for each type of grain. They were mainly one of *Al-Bīūt At-Tijāryah*, like Muhammed Baghfah who was import trader for sugar and corn. He had *ḥūsh* called *alfabrica*. (I think this term is arabicized from English " fabric " which means " Building ") Baqys added that there was a merchant called Hussin Baqys who imported ghee, vegetable oil and ginger from Yemen and other parts of the Southern of the Arabian Peninsula on *Sanabyk* (n. pl. of *sanbuk* = small boat) owned by him.

Concerning the process of transferring grain from the import trader or wholesaler to the retailer, Baqys described that

" grain merchants (retailers) went to the import trader to buy, for example sugar or corn. They first paid the price for sugar

then he gave us a *fasah*, on a piece of paper to his *hūsh*. Also, Mohammed Fadhual one grain import trader, imported corn, and sesame. His *hūsh* was near to his house, and when he had extra goods, he stored them with Bashaykh (another trader; wholesaler). After getting the *fasah*, we went to the *hūsh* with *fasah* and we showed it to the *hūsh* keepers, the latter asked the merchant or his representative about *'arabyih carru* (the mean of transport of that time; a carriage pulled by donkey or horse). Then, the merchandise can be carried to the merchant's store. Once grain merchant transferred his goods from wholesaler *hūsh* to his shop by *hammāl al - ahūāsh* (pl. of *hūsh*), then he sold them to the consumers".

(Shaykh Salam Baqys, October 1992)

Despite this traditional process of obtaining grain from wholesaler and importer, all trades depended on *dalālīn*. He said "trade was carried out by *dalāl*, we rarely buy on our hands, all trade was in hands of *dalāl*". *Dalāl* always concluded a contract on a commission rate. This rate was based on percentage, like 3/4% (= 0.75%), given to *dalāl* by Indian merchants, and 7/8% (0.875%) by non Indian merchants.

Baqys highlighted another way. He said that sometimes a merchant wanted corn or wheat or pearl millet, and he does not know who has it. In this case, he will ask *dalāl* to look for them by saying "look for so and so". Therefore, *dalāl* will search for what the merchant asked, then he came back holding *surah* (sing. of *surr*, which means a bag made out of cloth). In this *surah*, there is a sample of what the merchant wanted. Baqys said, *dalāl* says "do you want from this?". *Dalāl* never mentioned the source, to avoid oppression between merchants. If the merchant agreed, buying is concluded, then the buyer merchant will keep *surah* to check when he received the merchandise. Here again sometimes *dalāl* brought *fasah* and the process was completed as before, but the *fasah* included a sentence to speed up the process of getting the goods to the merchant's store or shop.

Apart from the *dalāl* between merchants, there was another type of *dalāl* between *mutasuqyn* (n. sing. of *mutasuq* = shopper), auctioning the *mutasuqyn*' things like second hand clothes and items brought by *mutasuqyn*. They sold these items either to other shoppers or to the merchants of the *suq*.

However, the grain trade required a recent weight " *uaznn jadyd* "³⁴ in each transaction between import trader and wholesaler, between wholesaler and retailer, because most of grains lost some of their weight as it is mentioned by Baqys. So, for this reason, *Al- uzanah* were founded to weigh all bulk grains for the entire *suq*. So,

³⁴- " No merchants are allowed to weigh goods, when bought or sold, at their houses", (Milburn, 1825, p 64).

weights ' *sanj* ' were checked by *Shaykh Al- uzanah* (n. pl. of *Uzan*; a person who weigh). In the regard of *Al- uzanah* , all grain merchants when they purchased grain from the wholesaler asked for ' *uzan jadyd* ', which means a recent weight for the grain. Baqys mentioned that traders went to `Umar Shamy with *Kylah* (a measurement used for grains), the latter checked if it was good to be used in measuring grains or damaged. If so he gave a new one, paying money for it. All measurements should be stamped with his *muhrr* ; special authorised stamp approved by municipality, where *mumora al-suq* checked every one in the shop. This checking occurred annually, unless there was damage to the *Kylah* and its sons (as they were called), they went immediately to Shamy to change them with stamped ones.

From the manifestation of the trade process of this example, one can describe the social organisation; which was as the following :

First is the import stage. At this stage, people here are mainly a few import merchants who deal with the source merchants and wholesale merchants. Each import merchant deals with a few types of grain (one or two), or one source of import like Indian species. Each import merchant has salesmen, clerks, warehouse keepers, guards, and porters.

Second is the wholesale stage. At this stage, people are more in number than with import traders. They dealt with a wide range of grain but in bulk. They got grain from import traders - very often import traders are considered as wholesalers - and sell to retailer in wholesale trade. Sometimes, *ḥirrfīn* - like millers -, who themselves were retailers but for the grain that they milled, buy from wholesaler. Wholesaler has employment for salesmen, clerks, porters and store - keepers.

Third is retail stage. At this stage, people were retailers who formed the majority of the *suq* community from the point of view of trade. They retail in all types of grain and milled ones. Trade took place on a very wide scale. The retailer had employment for salesmen, clerks, porters and store - keepers. They always had their lane and belong to one organisation (guild), headed by *Shaykh*.

Fourth is the craftsmanship stage. At this stage, people known are as *ḥirrfīn* (craftsmen). *Ḥirrfīn* are millers; *ṭaḥānah* (n. sing. of *ṭaḥān*). *Ṭaḥānah* dealt with retailers in obtaining grain, except large mills which got their grain from wholesalers. *Ṭaḥānah* organised in *mushaykhah* (guild), headed by *shaykh* and ranked with *mu'allam* , *ṣanā'i* and *`āmal* .

Fifth is associated services. At this stage, there were groups associated with grain trade; *dalālīn* (n. pl. of *dalāl* = broker), *uzanah* (n. pl. of *uazan* = a person who weighs grain), and *ḥammāl* (porters). *Dalālīn* belong to one organisation; *mushaykhah dalālīn*, headed by *Shaykh. Al - dalālīn* . The same thing applied for *uzanah* they

belonged to *mushaykhah uzanah*, headed by *Shaykh Al - uzanah* as well as *muShaykhah al - hammāl*.

Gold smith :

I have chosen this trade because it is an example of an imported raw material, converted into a product desired by the people of Jeddah. Gold was imported from Africa and Britain, in slabs. There was another trade which is precious jewellery, imported mainly from India, and some, like pearls from the Arabian Gulf. People who trade in gold and silver are called *saghah* (n. pl. of *sa'gh* = goldsmith), and people who trade in jewellery are called *jauarrjyah* (n. pl. of *jaurrji* = jewellery merchant)

In comparison to other imported goods, gold was imported in a standard form of weight, in the form of slabs. So the goldsmith can get these from the import trader directly. The *sa'gh* shop is, also, a workshop for producing different patterns and styles; belts, forehead bands, hair ornaments, nose pendants, necklaces, bracelets, earrings and rings.

Let us take one of these as an example; *banajirr* (pl. of *banjarrah* = bracelet worn on the right arm and sometimes on both arms). It is a circular unadujstable bracelet, made in different patterns and sizes, and also in fineness e.g ; 18 carat, 21 carat, 22 carat, 24 carat

Ali Azuz (the former *shaykh* of the goldsmith guild), described the process of producing gold or silver articles. Gold or silver are mixed with other metals like for example, copper. According to specific standards (carats), this process is done by melting gold or silver, as well as additive metals in molds and mixing them in the presence of catalysing materials like arsenic. The workshop, which is usually located at the back section of the shop, is occupied by *'āmal* and *ṣanā'i* and *mu'allam*. Sometimes in the bigger shops you might find in the workshop more than one *mu'allam*, but all of them under one *mu'allam* who owned the shop. But, the most important is the owner of the shop ; *sa'gh*, was himself *mu'allam*. *Sa'gh* (*mu'allam*) designed the pattern of *banjrrah* - our example - and passed it to the *ṣanā'i* who will engrave the pattern on the *banjarrah* which is sold. The *banjarrah* will be molded by *'āmal* and *ṣanā'i*. After *banjrrah* takes its final form and design, it will be displayed together with other articles in the front of the shop where the customer can see and choose. Usually, *sa'gh* is the person who sold in the shop with assistance of the shop - keeper especially in bigger shops.

This kind of trade is not only selling new goods, but also would buy some old articles from customers, as well as sell them recent models. Traditionally gold was considered as investment, a mean of saving and earning. Sometimes, this process is conducted by *dalāl*. *Dalāl* auctioned gold articles whether from customers or from some *sa'ghah*, where *sa'gh* has not time to re-design these articles due shortage of time or labour, or these were old fashioned and no longer preferred by customers. The process of selling by *dalāl* was that *dalāl* will take the articles to be sold in his hands displaying them to the *suq* people. He wandered in the *suq*, asking for a bid from either *sa'ghah* or shoppers. So, one *sa'gh* bid a price, another bid higher until it reached the price acceptable to the seller, when the sale was concluded.

Although *dalālīn* practised their trade in *suq al-dhahb* (gold *suq*), they belong to *al-dalālyin* guild where the head of guild is in *suq al-haraj*. Azuz mentioned that when he was *Shaykh al-saghah*, there were two *dalāl*, one of them was Hussyn Turkey and the other one was Salah Dhyab. They belonged to *dalālīn* guild where their *Shaykh* was Mustafa Kyal in *suq Al-haraj*.

From this example of the trade process, one can describe the social organisation as follows :

First is the import and wholesale stage. At this stage, people were mainly a few import traders who dealt with the source traders and wholesalers . They were in the same *saghah* guild, they had their own shops. Each trader had salesmen, clerks, warehouse keepers; guards, and porters.

Second is the retail stage. At this stage, traders were retailers and craftsmen at the same time, who form the majority of the *suq* community from the point of view of trade. They retail in all types of gold trade especially personal jewellery. They bought gold from import traders, because gold as a product needs to be shaped into certain designs in order to be used. So, there were *mu'allam*, *ṣanā'i* and *'āmal*. They always had their lane and belong to one organisation; *mushaykhah*, where headed by *Shaykh*.

Third is associated services. At this stage, there was a group associated with the goldsmith trade; *dalālīn* (n. pl. of *dalāl* = broker). *Dalālīn* belong to one organisation; *mushaykhah dalālīn* , headed by *Shaykh. dalālīn* .

Building trade :

As we mentioned before, *suq* embraced trades, crafts and services. Some of them did not take place in *suq* but its people were found there, like builders, water carriers, upholsterers, servants, and so on . These crafts and services were provided by people who were hired from certain places like coffee shop or inns. Each craft and service occupied a certain coffee shop.

Here, I choose the building craft which was known by *mu`allamīn bana'un* (pl. of *bana'* = builder). *Mu`allam* Iysa Abduaty confirmed that all *mu`allamīn bana'un* met in certian *qahauyi* (n. pl. of *qahuah* = coffee shop or inn), like; *qahuah* Al-jamalah, *qahuah* Abu Mansur, *qahuah* Al-khaskyih, *qahuah* Al-mu`ady and *qahuah* Khabynyi. In these *qahuyi* all *mu`allamīn* met and specially on Friday after *Jumah* prayer. Most building contracts were made with *mu`allamīn* here, and very rarely in their houses.

Building *ḥirrfah* is based on the construction materials; coral stone, mud, and wood. Wood has been described before, but coral stone can be obtained by digging in the ground, at a place called *bhirr altyin* (mud sea). People who excavated coral stones are called *qararyh* (n. pl. of *qarary*). They excavated the ground and took water off, and carry them by *hurry* (small boat) to the shore and let them dry. Clients, mostly *mu`allamīn bana* , bought them and they call the stone *hajrr qarary*.

On the site of the building these *hajrr qarary* were cut according to sizes defined by *mu`allam*. The one who cut is *manul*. *Qarary* refined the shape of the stone, while *muruj* carried to *mu`allam bana*. *`āmal* prepared mud mortar and carried it to *mu`allam bana*. *Mu`allam bana* was the one who constructed the building.

To display the process of this craft, craftsmen here were organised in the following order :

First is obtaining construction materials - coral stones, wood, and mud - stage. At this stage , craftsmen were *qararyah*, and they were organised in a guild.

Second is building construction stage. At this stage, craftsmen were *mu`allam*, *muruj*, *qarary* , *munauwal*, and *`āmal* . They were organised in a guild, and headed by *Shaykh*.

Tibākhah (catering):

Tibākhah ḥirrafah is an example of a craft that is provided inside the *suq*, and it has a place like millers, restaurants, coffee shops, tailors, shoe-makers (*kharzun* [n.pl. of *kharaz*]), and so on.

Tibākhah was for parties; wedding, engagement, the seventh day feast of a new born child, seventh day feast of the new married couple, and sometimes for a guest party. Each party or ceremony usually had a specific meal like; in the wedding ceremony people preferred *kably* or *zirbyan* and so on. The famous traditional meals in Jeddah were *Bukhary*, *Zirbyan*, *Kably*, *Salyq*, *Mandy*. These are rice dishes accompanied by salads, sambosk and sweets like *kinafah*, *basbusah* and *turmabah*. *Muṭabākh* (pl. of *muṭabākh* = kitchen) were found within *aswaq* area, because *tibākhah* ingredients can be found in other attached *aswaq*, like vegetable, rice, spices, lambs and poultry.

The process of cooking starts when the client requests a meal. *Mu'allam ṭabākh* would ask the client to specify the meal type, number of people and time; also he will ask him for his address if the client wanted *ṭabākh* to bring the meal to him, if not the client would collect it. The meal ingredients were usually provided by *ṭabākh* , unless client provides them.

On bigger occasions like a wedding ceremony or engagement, *Mu'allam ṭabākh* will cook on the site of the ceremony, where he will carry his cooking tools. Therefore, the client will provide *Mu'allam ṭabākh* with a place to cook. It was the custom for people to have their parties in their houses and specially on roofs and *myadyn* (n. pl. of *mydan* = square). But in both cases the process of cooking is the same. It started with slaughtering the animals in a specific area called *mudhbah* (slaughter place) by a butcher. To describe the process of cooking, I will choose one type of meal, *salyq*. *Salyq* was the most popular meal in Jeddah and other cities of Hejaz. *Salyq* is done by cooking lamb, which is cut in pieces, in boiling water until it is well-cooked and tender. This is checked by *Mu'allam ṭabākh*. Then, *'āmal* takes the well-cooked lamb to another pot and keeps it warm by leaving some of its or stock water with it and on a very low fire. The rest of its water is left on the fire and *mu'allam* measures the exact amount of rice (which is an American easy cooking rice) according to the number of people invited. As the rice is measured, *'āmal* washed it and put it in the lamb's stock with a small amount of mustic and cardamom, and it is left on the fire until well-cooked. Then, *mu'allam ṭabākh* pours a measure of fresh milk into the rice pot,

which is left for a while until it penetrates into the rice, then whips or stirs it to ensure that the milk is mixed with the rice. Then, he will remove the pot from the fire, and add some animal oil (ghee) to give the rice a better aroma and taste. The cooking is then finished, and the meal is ready to serve.

Usually, serving is done by special *`āmal* or by *mu`allam ṭabākh* himself with a rice ladle onto a large plate (stainless steel), which eight persons can sit around. Then the lamb will be put on the middle of the rice, and small pieces of liver arranged all around the rice. To accompany *salyq*, people preferred salad; chilled and blended tomato, parsley and green pepper with lemon or vinegar, and a mild medium cut green salad. Also, tropical fruit is preferred as a dessert.

The social organisation of this service is *mu`allam ṭabākh*, *ṭabākh* , *`āmal* , and *jazar* (butcher).

Party supplier :

This is a rental trade. It supplies all kinds of parties; wedding, engagement, and so on. Al-Basha, who has been involved in this kind of trade for the last 30 years, points out that it is often involved in the second hand trade (*al - hraj*), and they rent tents, tent sides (sails), plates, pots, spoons and knives, *mu`ashrr* (n. pl. of *mu`ashrr* = a decorative container to carry gifts for an engagement party), traditional clothes; *mushalah* (n. sing. of *mushalah* = a cloak - like) and so on.

Let us take one example. If someone held a big party like a wedding or engagement, and he wanted necessities or accessories for the party like tents or sails to define the place of the party and ensure some privacy, lights, rugs, support pillows, chairs, hand wash basins, and so on.

The rental process started when the client came to the store and asked for a list of things that he needed to hold a party in *mydan* or open space in *harah* (neighbourhood). The list was prepared to carry them to the client's place. First, *`āmal* would prepare a list then would carry this to the place, then another *`āmal* called *murkabun* (n. pl. of *murkab* = people who install and assembly) would erect tents and sails, and furnished the place with rugs and fixed lights, and one or two of them would remain in the place through out the party for maintenance or in case of emergency.

After the party was finished, *murkabun* would take down the things they had installed. *`Āmal* would carry them to the store and replaced them in their positions. For those damaged and in need of repair, there were tailors and technicians. All of them were under one *mu'allam* who was always the owner of the store. Sometimes more than one *mu'allam* were found in one store specially in the bigger stores.

The social organisation of this trade follows this order :

First was the rental service stage. At this stage, traders were *mu'allam*, *ṣanā'ī - murkab mujahaz*, *musalah*, *`āmal*, and *hamal*

Second was second hand items stage. At this stage, traders were retailers of a wide range used items. Retailers had employees; salesmen, clerks, shop keepers, porters and *`āmal*.

Third was *dalālah* stage. *Dalālah* (brokerage) is a service provided by *dalāl*. This service bridged the gap between the buyer and seller to conclude the selling process. So, we find it in all *aswaq* and in every trade process, as well as the large sales such as government auctions or a bankrupt merchant auctions, and selling second hand items. *Dalālīn* were organised in a guild, headed by *Shaykh*.. Tamisier³⁵ described this group during his travels to Arabia in 1835 as follows:

Each area of the bazaar is devoted to different kinds of trade,...Every day, sworn-in public auctioneers sell all kinds of objects to bidders; The auctioneers cut through the throngs waving the articles for sale, and they give them to the highest bidder if the price is convenient.

(Howell, 1985, p. 174)

About the guilds :

Traditionally, each craft, trade and service had a *mushaykhah* (guild), headed by *Shaykh*. *Shaykh* was elected by guild members among the members most knowledgeable about the guild matters, and with high moral manners, and usually among the eldest members. This election is approved by the government.

Shaykh ḥirrfah supervised the craft to control the quality and prevent disputes among the guild members, and the customers. In case of disputes, *Shaykh ḥirrfah*

³⁵ Tamisier's accounts of his visit to Jiddah in 1834 were published as part of the record of his experiences in Arabia when serving as one of a number of European officers with an Egyptian expeditionary force which was sent to the Hedjaz in the 1830s.

would call the two parties together, and also three experienced members to form a committee, to help *Shaykh* in sorting out the problem and witness the decision of the *Shaykh*. In addition to that, *Shaykh hirrfah* represented guild members before the government.

Shaykh hirrfah had *naqib*. He helped the *Shaykh* in his supervision. *Naqib* could visit all shops and workshops which belonged to his guild. He supervised the quality of work. He also was responsible to call all members of the guild to attend any committee as requested by *Shaykh hirrfah*.

In addition to *naqib*, there were four *umana* (pl. of *amyn* = trustee). They were among the eldest and most experienced and expert of *hirrfah*. Most guilds held one committee a year; and some of them twice, to discuss *hrifah* matters and every thing related to it.

Meetings of the *hirrrfah* were held, occasionally, at the place of *Shaykh hirrfah*, and some *hirrf* (pl. of *hirrfah*) held their meetings at *qahuyi* (pl. of *qahuah* = coffee - shop). *Mu'allam* Iysa Abdualaty said that each *hirrfah* had *qahuah* as a place to meet; *najaryin*, *dalain* and so on. Usually, *hrifah* members met on Friday afternoon in *qahuah* like, *qahuah al - jamalah*, *qahuah Abu Mansur*, *qahuah Al mu'ady*, *qahuah Khabanyi*, as confirmed by *Mu'allam* Iysa Abdualaty. He himself sat in *qahuah* Abu Mansur on Friday afternoon with members of the builders guild.

However, *'āmal* started his profession by joining the *hirfah* when he began work with *mu'allam* in either workshop or shop as *mubtadi* (beginner) and then gradually progressed to *ṣanā'ī*. If his *mu'allam* was a large contractor, a lot of work came to him, which meant this *'āmal* would get a lot of experience. Not only experience but also his ability to learn the craft. All of this determined how closely he was attached to *hrifah*, and this was determined by his *mu'allam*. *'āmal* could not be *mu'allam* until his *mu'allam* approved.

In some crafts; such as goldsmith, *'āmal* stayed around three years until he became *mu'allam* where this period was enough to know all about *hirrfah* (goldsmithing), but this depended on his *shatarah* (cleverness and skill), if he was smart he would be *mu'allam* in three years (*Shaykh* Ali Azuz, October 1992).

Other crafts (like building construction), had no specific time for *'āmal* to be *mu'allam*, it depended on his skill and smartness to grasp the *hirrfah*. For example, some people took months, some people may be one month, " so, the one who carries

mud can be *muruj* and *muruj* can be *qarary* , it depended on his smartness ". (*mu'allam* Iysa Abdualaty who was *mu'allam bana* = builder master).

As *ṣanā'i* qualifed to *mu'allam*, he could not work with other *mu'allam* or even on his own account, but he would ask his *mu'allam* permission to be *mu'allam*. Usually he said " Now I am qualified to be *mu'allam*, and I would like to seek for *fadal Allah* here and there ? (*fadal Allah* lit. means God' remnant, which is meant that he will work on his own account as a *mu'allam* or with other *mu'allam* or his *mu'allam* but as *mu'allam*). In this case, his *mu'allam* would take him to *Shaykh al-ḥirrafah* and would recommend that he was qualified to be *mu'allam* and says " my son wants to become *mu'allam*, and seeks for *fadal Allah*, so examine him "(*Shaykh* Ali Azuz, October 1992). In contrast, retail did not require *āmal* to be examined in order to be *mu'allam* . It depended on his *mu'allam* 's recommendation and the capital he had to open a new shop (*Shaykh* Baqys, October 1992).

In some guilds the *ṣanā'i* must submit a masterpiece. As soon as the candidate has finished this, his *mu'allam* would ask all members of *ḥirrafah* to hold a committee, where the example would be displayed, and they would be asked for their judgement after seeing the example in the presence of the *Shaykh* of *hrifah*. If the example was done perfectly, they said " *mubarak! mubarak* (congratulation) ! he is a *mu'allam mafy harjah* (*mafy harjah* [Arabic] lit. means no other word. It is an expression which means he has mastered the craft).". Therefore, his *mu'allam* will do *sabat al-qahuh* (pour coffee) for him. *Sabat al-qahuh* was a ceremony sponsored by his *mu'allam*, where his *mu'allamah* (mastership) would be anounced in front of all guild members. *Shaykh al-ḥirrafah*, then, will ask all members to recite *al-fātiḥah* (the 1st Chapter of the Holy Quran) and says " He is grown and taught *al-ḥirrafah* (craft) under his *mu'allam*' hands, and now he seeks for *fadal Allah*, and we examined him and as you saw he succeeded in the exam we asked, and he was a good son of *al-ḥirrafah* and a good brother for his colleagues. Therefore, I anounce in fornt of you he became from now a *mu'allam*, so let us congratulate him and pray Allah's blessing on his profession.". Then, all members would congratulate him, and everybody would start to eat the meal made for him by his *mu'allam* (*Shaykh* Hamid Atyiah, October 1992). *Shaykh* Azuz (the former *shaykh* of the goldsmith guild) said that this admittance and entrance to *ḥirrafah* was like engagement or marriage. However, the candidate's *mu'allam* , occasionally, became a father in law of his candidate³⁶.

³⁶ *Mu'allam* Iysa Abdualaty married his *mu'allam*'s daughter.

Shaykh Hamid described *hirrfah* by saying

" we were one family, we gathered in the place of the *Shaykh hirrfah*, and he solved disputes between members and also their problems ".

(*Shaykh* Hamid Atyiah, October 1992)

These gatherings always started with *al-fātiḥah*. Any member asked for a recitation of *al-fātiḥah* if he wanted to say something or discuss anything related to the *hirafah*. For example, if *ʿāmal* left his *muʿallam* without permission and worked for another *muʿallam* and this *muʿallam* had not advised him to return to his previous *muʿallam* or asked for a permission from him, the previous *muʿallam* would complain to the *Shaykh hirrfah*. *Shaykh h hirrfah* himself would go to that *muʿallam* and would say " beware, you are not allowed to get *ʿāmal* to work with you; you are *muqruʿ* (not allow) and *hasib* (be careful) *bi ras asm al - Shaykh* (with my name), return the *ʿāmal* to his *muʿallam*, otherwise I will dismiss you from the guild" (*Shaykh* Ali Azuz, October 1992).

Despite the fact that *hirrfah*'s members had similar activities either in retailing the same type of goods or producing the same kind of products, their relationships were not affected. *Shaykh* Baqys said :

" Some of us had some types of goods that my next neighbour did not have, and for most of the time we sold the same goods, but if he did not sell anything for that day I let him *ystaftah* (first selling) by telling one of my clients that my neighbour has it, so he can *ystaftah* ".

(*Shaykh* Baqys, October 1992)

Also, in some cases, bankrupt merchants who had no more capital practiced *dalāl*

Merchants and craftsmen worked from sunrise to sunset. They usually had their lunch in their shops. Through this time, there were two times of prayers, one of them in the middle of the day which was called *dhurr* prayer (mid-day) and the second was afternoon called *ʿAsarr* prayer (afternoon). During the two prayer times, they closed their shops by cloth net (a fishing net). Baqys said

" When we went to pray, we closed our shops by a fishing net, and no body could steal and nothing happened, everything found secure".

(*Shaykh* Baqys, October 1992)

When *suq* was '*fatar*' (*fatar* is an expression used to express that the *suq* was quite, with little or no activity), they went to to coffee shop (*qahuah*) inside the *suq* to meet each other and some social activites took place. In the month of *Ramdan* (fasting month) the *suq* was active until the time they broke their fast, the *Mughrib* time (sunset time).

From the survey of previous examples, where I attempted to describe the trade process and the various transactions that took place in *aswaq* of Jeddah, one can trace and summarise the trade process and social organisations that operated them.

Describing the trade process is not only to identify the social organisations of certain goods or merchandise but also to show the relationship between various social organisations that operate the *suq* commercially. The trade process taking place in the *suq* might be with a product or service (fig. 4.4).

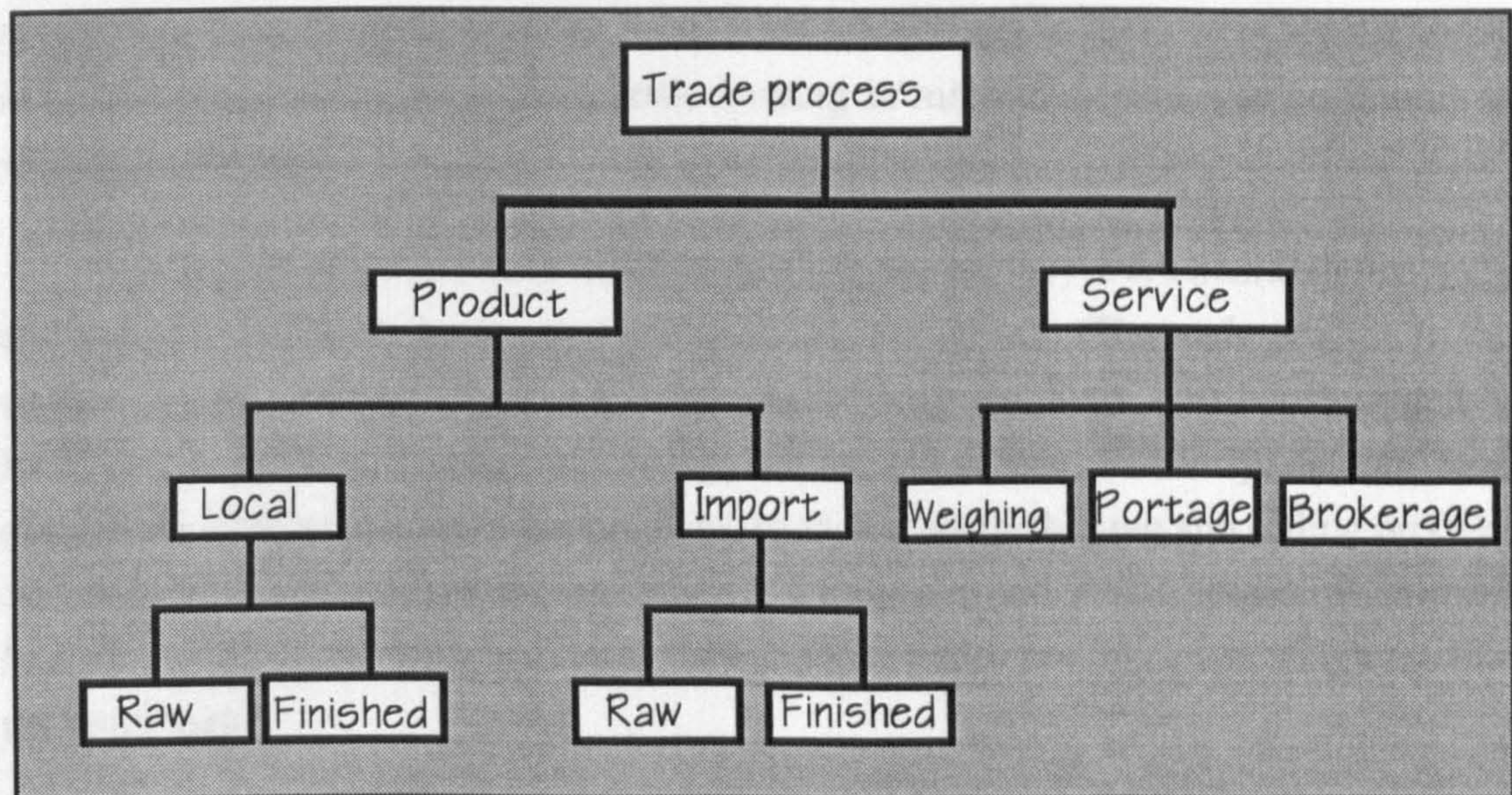


Fig. 4.4 A diagram summarizing the trade process of the different activities in *suq*

In the case of product, this could be imported or locally obtained whether in raw or finished form. We will consider the imported product first. Import was a trade process that took place outside and inside the *suq*. What is important to us is the process that took place inside the *suq*. Products were brought here from their sources, in bulk but within specific products (one kind or species, or one source such as Indian products). These products were sold through displaying samples inside the *suq* , while they stored the bulk in warehouses.

Wholesale was a trade process which followed the import process. It differs from the latter in terms of kinds of product, where more than one kind of product or more than one source of products were sold, and its proximity to the *suq*. This took place after storing products obtained from the import process and again displayed samples. This process concluded with the retail process. In the case of some raw imported products, this trade process concluded with the craftsmanship when a large quantity of raw products are needed to convert to the finished good or material.

Retailing was the trade process which encompassed the great majority of the business in *suq*. This followed the wholesale process and concluded either in transfer of goods to consumers; or to craftsmen in the case of the raw products to be converted ready for consumers, whether directly or through the retail process.

Second we will discuss the local products whether finished or raw. These were very scarce in the area of Jeddah except for cutting trees for firewood, leather and some products of daily consumption like food. The trade process in these were similar to the imported products but on a small scale bearing in mind that there was no import or wholesale process.

In regard of the services which took place in *suq*, they were *ḥamālah* (carrying and delivery), *dalālah* (brokerage) and *uzannah*. (weighing). The trade process in the service of *ḥamālah* took place in all trades processing products, whether imported or local, raw or finished, through unloading, storing and deliver. Similarly, *dalālah* took place in all trade processes of the products, to facilitate the buying and selling process. So, *dalālah* took place between import, wholesale and retail stages. *Wzannah* (weighing) was a service which took place in those trades needing exact weighing, like the grain trade.

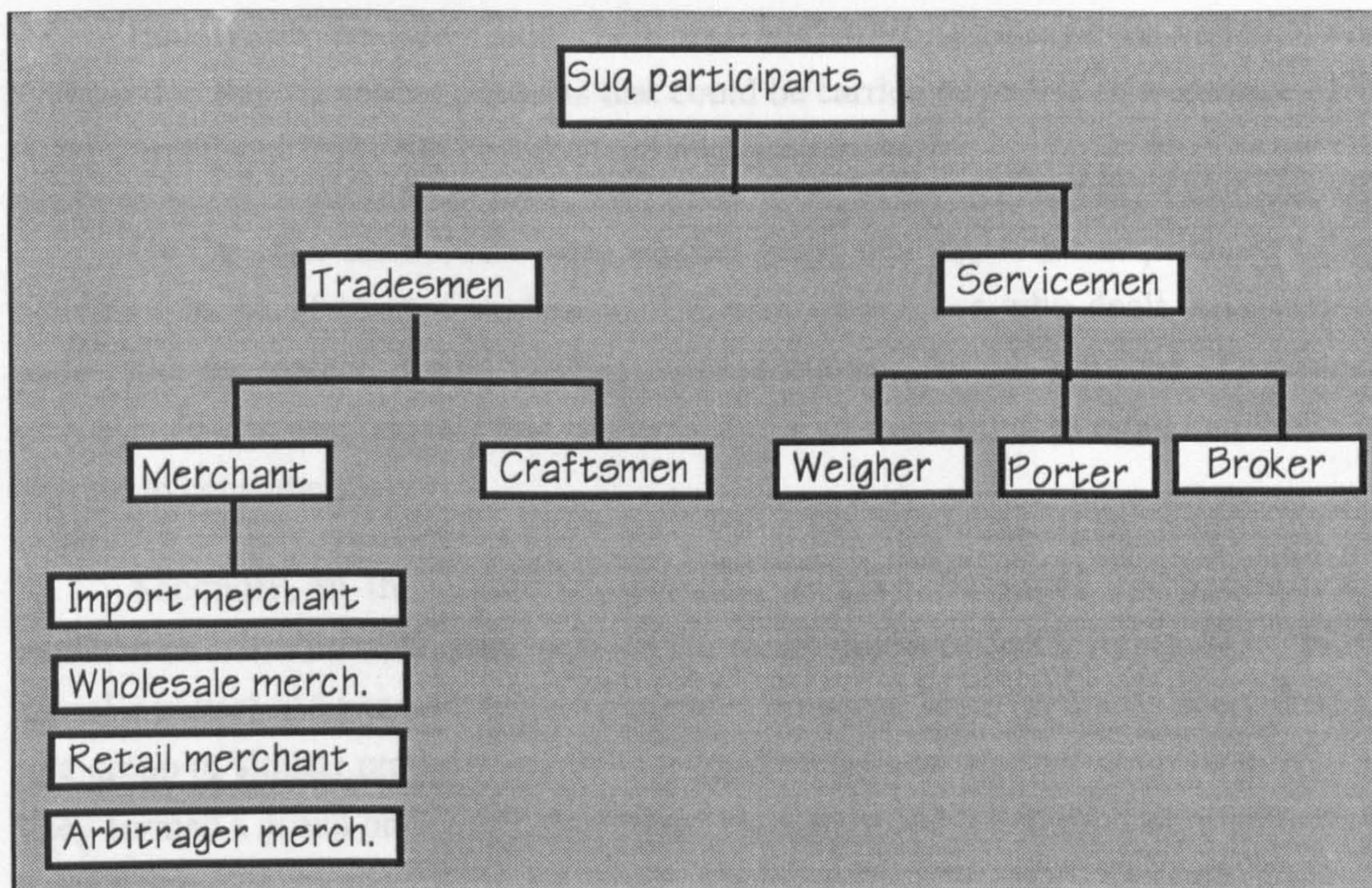


Fig. 4.5 *Suq'* participants

From this process, it is clear that the social organisations that occupied " *suq* participants " could be simplified as follows :

First, in the regard of product, are tradesmen. Tradesmen are *tajārr* (n. pl. of *tājarr*=merchant) and *ḥirrfīn* (n. pl. of *ḥirrfī* = craftsman). *Tajārr* were *tājarr murd* (import merchant), *tājarr jumalah* wholesale merchant, *tājarr mufard* retail merchant and *tājarr mutasibib* arbitrage or vendor merchant.

Tājarr murd (import merchant) was a trader who practiced the import trade and brought products from their sources to *aswaq*. He sold imported products to wholesale merchants, but only a particular type of product - like grain and wood - or from a particular source - like Indian products.

Tājarr jumalah (wholesale merchant) was a trader who practiced wholesale trade. He bought from *murd*, sometimes more than one *murd*, and sold products to retail merchants or craftsmen in large quantities. The wholesale merchant dealt with both imported and local products.

Tājarr mufard (retail merchant) was a trader who sold to consumers or to craftsmen, and bought products from wholesale merchants. *Tājarr mufard* formed the great majority of the *suq* participants.

Finally, on the *tājarr* side, there was *mutasibib* (arbitrager or vendor) who wandered in the *suq* selling products that could be carried or pulled on a carriage - like clothes, nuts, and fruits. He had no fixed places or shops.

On the other hand, there were another group dealing with raw products called "*ḥirrfīn* " (n. pl. of *ḥirrfī* = craftsman). *Ḥirrfīn* were those who dealt with various crafts, like carpenters, cooks, builders, coffee makers, and shoemakers. They dealt with materials to produce finished products, and sold them either to retail merchants or directly to consumers.

Secondly, in the regard of services; *dalālah*, *ḥamālah* and *uzaṇah*, are servicemen. Servicemen were *dalālīn* (n. pl. of *dalāl*=broker), *ḥammāl* (n. pl. of *hamal* = porter) and *uzaṇah* (n. pl. of *uzaṇ* = weigher). More precisely, every product or a group of similar products involved special tradesmen whether *tājarr* or *ḥirrfīn* in. They formed a group or organisation bound by certain codes and rules regulating their trade process.

This grouping organisation was known by "*ḥirrfah* ", "*ta'yfah* ", "*mushaykhah* ", "*sinf* ", and "*naqabah* " of a product that *ta'yfah* belongs to, like *ta'yfah al-hababah* (grain merchant' guild), *ta'yfah al-najarin* (carpentry guild), *ta'yfah al-saghah* (goldsmith guild).

Usually, this *ta'yfah* was headed by *Shaykh* known by his *ta'yfah*, like *Shaykh al-hababah*, *Shaykh al-najarin*, and so on. This *Shaykh* had *naqib* as assistance officer to him, and *umayn* (n. pl. of *amyn*) who were considered as experts of the craft. Each *ta'yfah* had many *mu'allamīn* (masters), who produced the craft. In other words they owned a workshop and store. Under them, there were *ṣanā'i*, *`āmal* and *mubtadi* (fig. 4. 6).

This structure is not only for those who deal with products (retailers and craftsmen), but also for those who deal with services; *dalālīn*, *ḥammāl* and *wazanah*, each of these has *ta'yfah* associated with the service they practiced. Each had *Shaykh* and the same ranking of the *ta'yfah* as we saw before.

However, each *ḥirrfah* had its own *`urff* (n. pl. *a'raff* = norms and conventions) and *sinah* (custom). The *a'raff* of each guild were recognised by *qādī* (local judge) and *muḥtasib* (*suq's* superintendent).³⁷

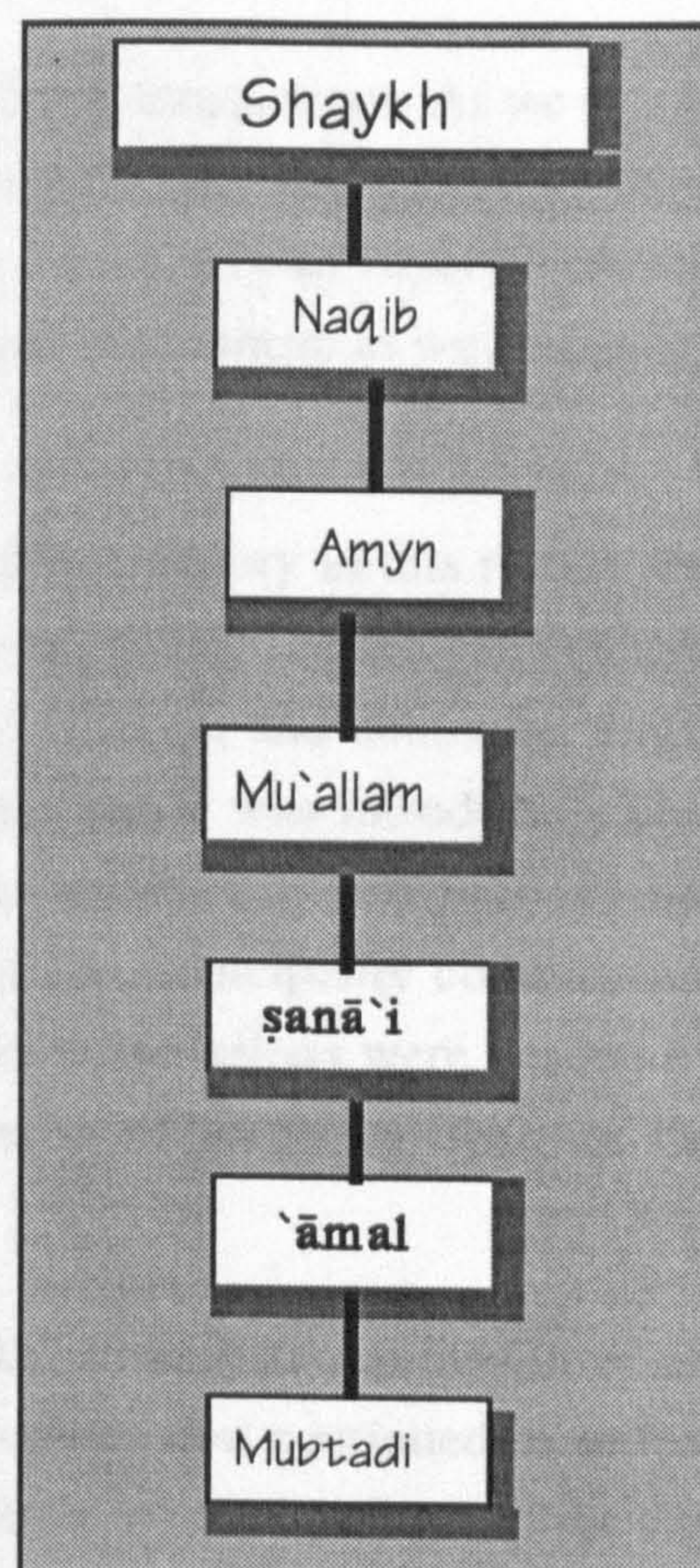


Fig. 4. 6 The hierarchicall structure of the *ta'yfah*.

³⁷ Al-muordi confirmed this in his book; "*Ahkam al-hisbah*. (arabic) Hisbah Rules" (Al-muordi,1973,p. 231).

4. 3 External organisation :

Islam established a set of principles for commercial transactions. As we saw in Chapter Three, it is an obligation of the state to supervise the application of these principles. There were organisations to supervise the *aswaq*. *Aswaq* supervision was one of the duties of the office of *hisbah* duties, summited to *muhtasib* as we mentioned in Chapter One.

In this regard, all governments throughout Islamic history in this region and else where preserved the post of *hisbah*; when Hejaz was governed by the early caliphs until 980, it passed under the rule of the *Ashraf*³⁸ of Makkah, and continued under Ottoman rule³⁹, until 1839, when the Ottoman Tanzimat⁴⁰ was introduced. This specified the *suq* supervision, and the *muhtasib* was replaced by *Mu'amur Al-suq* (*suq*' commissioner). *Mu'amur Al-suq* was a post of the municipality commission, which was under the immigration commission. These commissions were headed by four *Nuab* (n. pl. of *Na'ib* = representative), known as *Arkan Al-ua* (post of the Jeddah' governor).

After the 1st World War, the Hashamites took over Hejaz from the Ottomans and ruled it for nine years (1917 - 1926). *Aswaq* supervision continued to follow Ottoman rules. It was one of the duties of the municipality where the mayor of the city of Jeddah was Sulyman Qabal. (Al-Ansari, 1982, p. 364).

In 1926 Hejaz came under the rule of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Saudi constitution codified the existing practices of the municipality. *Aswaq* supervision was, and still is, one of the duties of the municipality, within the department of "Aswaq Supervision". This department is much like the role of *muhtasib* in regard of *aswaq* supervision, as we described in Chapter One, in regard of the commercial transactions whether merchants or craftsmen, quality of goods and products, and giving permission to open a new shop for merchant or workshop for craftsmen after the approval of *Shaykh al-suq* or *Shaykh al-hirrfah* . Also, in solving disputes between consumers and merchants or craftsmen.

38- *Ashraf* is plural of *Sharyf*, which is a title given to the descendants of the Prophet Muhammed (Peace be on him).

39- Although, the whole Ottoman administrative system was introduced in the main cities, they accepted *Ashraf* Makkah as a local representative of these provinces to govern in their name.

40- Arabic term came from *nazam* which means to arrange and hence *tanzamat* means arrangements, regulations and reforms (Bernard Lewis, *The Arab in History*, London, 1950 p. 39 (it is cited in Z. Y. Hershlag, *Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East*, Leiden, 1964, p. 30).

In the case of complicated conflicts, there was another institution; *mujlas al - tajarr* (tradesmen council). This council, inherited from the Ottoman rules, consists of many members among the most experienced merchants and craftsmen in Jeddah, who know about the Islamic legal commercial transactions as well as all matters related to trade and craftsmanship. It was managed by government representatives, as it was shown by the document of *Dar Al-utha'iq Al-qumyih* (National Documents Institution, Cairo, No. s / 1 / 86 / 1). The document says :

In regard to the conflict between merchant Abdulaziz Abdullah and Ahamed Sharyf (from Jeddah) in regard of good of " Senna ", it is decided that the claim should be reviewed or seen by *mujlas al - tadajarr* (tradesmen council), and set up a judgement in the regard of the conflict.

This council is now managed by a representative of the Ministry of Commerce.

4.4 Societal transition of 1970's

Traditional life in Hejaz originated in, and was based upon, Islam where all the population were Muslims except for the few foreign delegations who resided in Jeddah. Private life, as we saw earlier in Chapter Three, was family-centred. The family represented the basic social unit around which an individual's life evolved, then, came extended family, neighbourhood, and *umah* .

Until the discovery of oil in 1930, little changed in the economic life of the region. Trading was the main activity of the city of Jeddah. Burckhardt observed that Jeddah was the port for Arabia and Egypt and a market for Indian goods and the coffee of Yemen (Burckhardt, 1937, pp. 242-295).

The trade of Jeddah did promote much development of the urban structure. Most construction activities were based on the building of dwellings for well-to-do merchants. Others, such as artisans and shopkeepers, either built their own houses or rented their accommodation from merchant landlords. These were specially modified extended family houses divided into apartments and were also situated in the *aswaq* area.

The discovery of oil in Arabia completely altered the economic life of the region. In the 1970s, enormous changes took place in the economic system, where the importation of labour was accelerated and there was rapid construction boom.

In the last decade, 2000 villages have had electricity installed, 15000 km of paved roads were built and 300,000 housing units were constructed (the Kingdom's 1970-1975 five-year plan called for an expenditure of \$145 billion, its 1975-1980 five-year plan nearly doubled to \$268 billion). As a result, unprecedented social, economic and political change occurred in the region.

The Process of Social Transformation

Hejaz has undergone a transformation in the last decades socially, economically and politically. The transformation of a way of life, which had existed for centuries until the discovery of oil, made a profound impact on the society.

Historically, the process of social transformation took place in three stages. The first stage of previous culture change was by the traders of Hejaz. During their caravan travels through the Islamic world, they returned bringing peoples of other cultures who

introduced new skills, techniques and knowledge. They, along with the stream of pilgrims, transferred goods and ideas from China in the East to the Mediterranean and North of Africa in the West (Robinson, 1987, pp. 80-91).

The second stage of the cultural transfer was by people from the Arab world in the early 20th century who were mainly educated Arabs, such as teachers, doctors and technicians. They were mostly from Syria and Egypt.

The third stage of the cultural transfer followed the economic expansion in the 1970s, called the "oil boom". This created a massive call for Western technology and skilled man-power to implement and operate it. Consequently, more skilled man-power from other Arab, North American, European and Asian countries were recruited into the region and according to Ibrahim and Al-Farsy the foreign labour figure reached over two million persons (Ibrahim, Saed, 1982, pp. 5-136, also see Al-Farsy, Fuoad, 1986, pp. 7-194).

Furthermore, many young Saudis had been educated in the West in higher education and training programmes to fulfil the lack of skilled man-power. This was to promote the education plan which was one of the major priorities in the First and Second Five-Year plans (1970-1980) (Al-Farsi, Fouad, 1986, pp. 7-194).

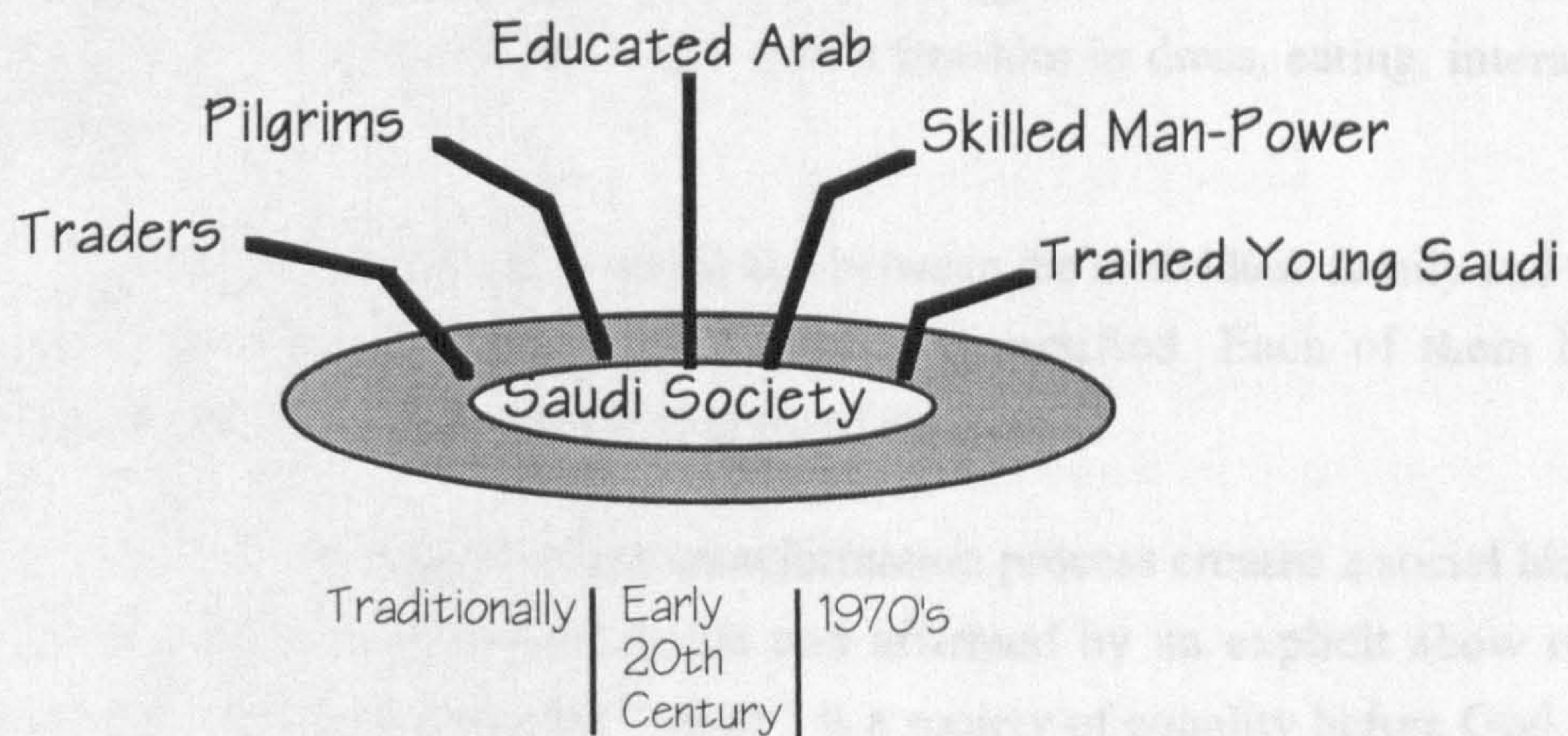


Fig. 4.7 Stages of social transformation.

Social Changes and their consequences

For the first and second stages, the Hejazi society was able to absorb years of acculturation and integrate foreign cultures into its own. It was a culture that conformed to communal norms, and reinforced by collective values and rules which produced "umrah" based on an unified culture.

In contrast, the third stage of the transformation process, the large-scale influx of people as a result of massive foreign man-power, created changes in the society and local culture. The new and diverse lifestyles introduced into the society by the range of other cultures and societies, Western, Asian as well as other Arabs were difficult to absorb so rapidly.

The most crucial problems arising from this need for foreign man-power was the social impact caused by the multitude of foreign customs, habits and ways of life, and their possible interference with the unique Islamic pattern of the region (Troller, Gray, 1976, p. 120).

Many different groups were imposed into the society; not only foreigners (man-power) but also Saudis educated and trained outside the Kingdom imported perspectives of other lifestyles, different groups and sub-cultures. This allowed individuals to be independent beings with a freedom in dress, eating, interaction and behaviour.

The result was that the societal ties between the individual, family and the whole society in general, became weaker as they diversified. Each of them became a representative of an almost unique culture of his own.

Also, the third stage of the transformation process created a social hierarchy in the society based on financial status and affirmed by an explicit show of wealth, whereas the Islamic community "umrah " is a society of equality before God. This was when the money flowed through many hands as a result of the flow of the vast oil revenues of the 1970's.

These pressures of economic expansion which were based on foreign concepts and expertise of development and modernisation, displaced the traditional social structures, destroyed traditional family relations and encouraged the emergence of individualism.

Consequently, the lifestyles that are based on the 'nuclear family' with all their modern features and conveniences have dominated modern society. Also social hierarchy crept into society based on financial status. Trade and office work are considered honourable among members of the modern Hejazi society, while manual work is associated with less well respected occupations (fig. 4.8).

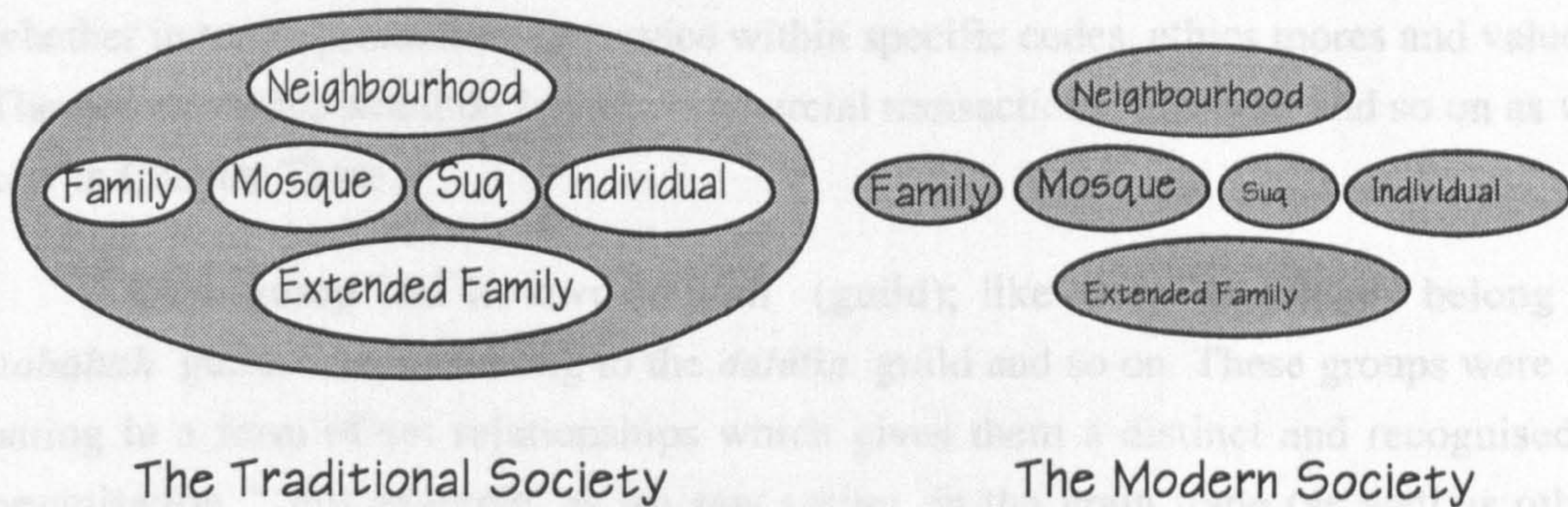


Fig. 4.8 The unity of the traditional Saudi Society was lost and became a group of independent elements in the modern society.

Thus, the skilled craftsmen and tradesmen became businessmen. They compromised their social cultures in order to deal with the requirements of their customers. Their ethics have been replaced by the ethics of the modern commercial world, which have become the ethics of the Saudi business world.

To sum up, it was not until the 1970s during the economic expansion period, that the traditional Hejazi society lost its cultural identity. The society which was based on the extended family, became a 'nuclear family' based on individuals. The society which was integrated in obtaining its livelihood, became dependent on other cultures. This caused the evolution of a new cultural pattern that reduced the traditional fundamental principles.

However, to have a valid culture it must have a valid traditional basis, and a continuity and consistency of cultural transmission over time. This is by having a consistency in lifestyle, beliefs, behaviours, social values and norms.

Conclusion

The form and layout of the traditional *aswaq*, are still very strong in Jeddah. Their ethical and cultural basis, however, has been eroded, and their vernacular architectural details in many cases replaced by mass produced western components.

The traditional *aswaq* of Jeddah - much like those of other Islamic cities - were, socially, a combination of various socio-cultural groups, each of which operates, whether in trade, production or service within specific codes, ethics mores and values. These codes were based on Islam; commercial transactions, lifestyle, and so on as we saw in Chapter Three.

Each group had its own *ta'yfah* (guild); like grain' merchants belong to *hababah* guild, brokers belong to the *dalālīn* guild and so on. These groups were all acting in a form of set relationships which gives them a distinct and recognised "organisation". For example, as we saw earlier, in the grain trade (as well as other trades) merchants organised themselves in the form of *ta'yfah al-hababah* (grain merchant' guild). However, when the trade process was supplemented or associated with other groups, like *dalālīn* (brokers), *hamal* (porters), *wzanah* (weight men) or *ṭaḥānah* (millers), these organisations did not end up with an arbitrary structure but in the case of overlapping of the trade process, this interference only occurred in the framework of the trade process not in the body or skeleton of the *ta'yfah* (guild). This confirmed the interaction between the various guilds but did not invalidate the guild itself.

Nevertheless, there was another supervisory group, responsible for controlling these *tua'if* (n. pl. of *ta'yfah* = guild), and to ensure they operated within their specified framework whether at the level of trade process or of products. Not only the trades and crafts were their duties, but also shoppers and passer-by people were supervised. They were in charge of keeping the moral and behavioural values of these people.

However, all of this leads to a question that if each organisation has a framework controlling even their interfaces, is that reflected in the formation of the physical layout of *aswaq*. This is what Chapter Six will investigate.

CHAPTER FIVE

**THE INTERPRETATION
METHODS; PROCEDURE AND
TECHNIQUES**

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTERPRETATION METHODS; PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUE

The sources for any study are traced from chronicles, biographies, inscriptions, descriptions of towns, administrative manuals, travel tales, diplomatic agreement, treatises, works of arts, and archaeological and artistic remains. Interpreting these materials gives us information about economic, social and many political realities.

(Leedy, 1989, p. 3)

One of the initial hypotheses of this research accepted that the traditional *aswaq* reflected socio-cultural aspects through their physical layout which represented the pattern of relationships of socio-cultural values and norms within the society. Therefore, in interpreting these relationships, the traditional *aswaq* must be considered from inside the culture that produced it, and was valid for it. This chapter is based on insiders criteria, which provides a direct source of information about the process, interpreting the relationships from the point of view of the culture within which this process took place.

In the previous chapters, the background was based on written records which will provide the background against which subsequent interpretations may be understood. This chapter is devoted to a description and interpretation of field work undertaken in Jeddah in October 1992. This took the form of in depth interviews with tradesmen, merchants and administrators working in the *aswaq*.

5.1 Interpreting Methodology

In order to complete this part of the research, one could think of a number of methods¹. For example, observing physical traces, observing environmental behaviour, focused interviews, and standardised questionnaires. At this stage, I inclined towards using focused interviews, observing physical traces and observing environmental behaviour as a possible and practical means of gathering sufficient data for the completion of this research. Investigating such possibilities revealed the following:

Focused interviews

This is finding out, in depth, how people of the *aswaq* (tradesmen either merchants or craftsmen, and shoppers) define the traditional *aswaq*, and what they consider important about them. Posing questions systematically leads to the ways in which people think, feel, do, believe, and expect. The objectives of the focused interview are many, some of which are the definition of a particular situation; the way people see and interpret certain activities (retailing, production, and shopping). It examines the strength of respondents' feelings about priorities and intentions. The main concern of these interviews are to find out whether traders, craftsmen and shoppers thought about what they did in the *aswaq*. This method is characterised by :

- Merchants and craftsmen, heads and masters interviewed are known to have been involved in *aswaq* : they have first hand experience.
- The researcher carries out a situation analysis to provisionally identify significant elements, patterns, and processes of the *aswaq*. The researcher arrives at a set of hypotheses about what aspects of the *aswaq* are important for those involved in them, what meaning these aspects have, and what effects they have on participants.
- On the basis of this analysis, the investigator develops an interview guide, setting forth major areas of inquiry and hypotheses.

¹ - John Zeisel, Inquiry by Design, California, 1981; Gerald Hoinville and Roger Jowell, Survey Research Practice, England, 1989, Robert B. Bechamel , Methods in Environmental and Behavioral Research, New York, 1987, Paul D., Leedy, Practical Research Planning and Design, London, 1989.

- The interview about subjective experiences of merchants, craftsmen and servicemen exposed to the already-analysed situation is an effort to ascertain their definitions of the *aswaq*.
- The main tools are probes. Probes are primarily questions that an interviewer includes to prompt a respondent to clarify a point, to continue talking, or to shift the topic.

Observing physical traces

Observing the physical traces *aswaq* is looking at the *aswaq* layout and gathering data about physical traces of them. It provides answers to the following questions; - How merchants, craftsmen, servicemen and shoppers use *aswaq* ? What takes place in *aswaq* ? How are *aswaq* being created ? What are their elements ? How do their elements relate to each other ? How do people manipulate their *aswaq* ? How do they feel toward them, and generally how *aswaq* meet the needs of their users. This method enables a researcher to form an idea of what people are like who use that *aswaq* - their culture, their affiliations, the way they present themselves. This method is characterised by :

- The imaginable quality of this methods makes it easy to generate hypotheses about causes, purposes, and sequences. It provides rich impressions and is highly illustrative.
- Visual records are useful to follow up on trace observations with interviews to test their hypotheses.
- Observing the physical traces of *aswaq* does not influence the behaviour that caused the trace, and are good to find out about the behaviour of many groups who can not be interviewed.
- *Aswaq* traces have the advantage that they do not quickly disappear, and can be done again.
- It is generally inexpensive and quick to yield interesting information which makes the trace survey of *aswaq* possible to discover and explore in greater depth a host of initial hypotheses.

- The main tools of this methods are annotated diagrams, drawings, photographs, pre-coded counting lists, or a combination of all of them (fig. 5.1).

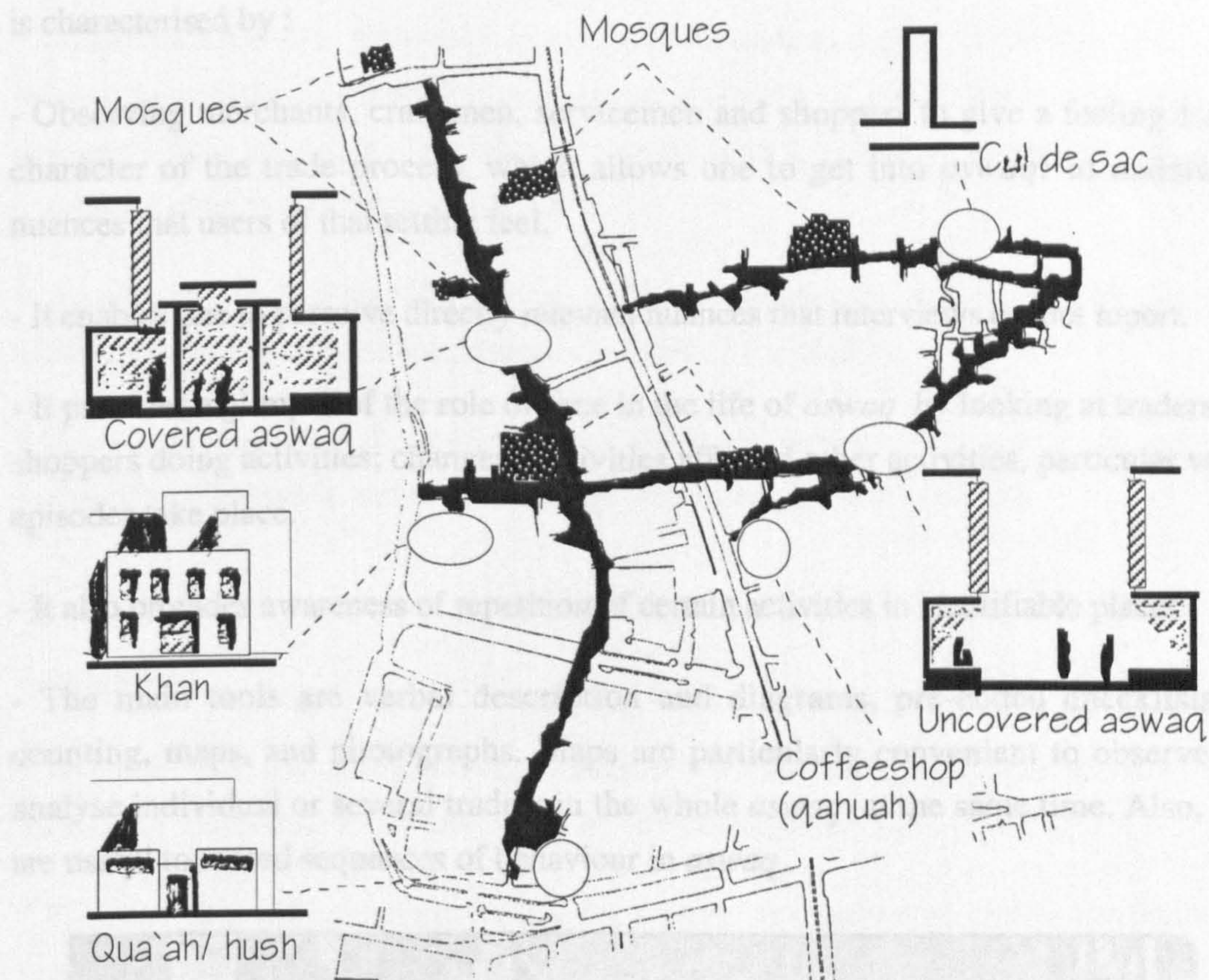


Fig. 5.1 Annotated diagram for physical traces of the traditional *aswaq*

Observing environmental behaviour:

Observing behaviour in *aswaq* generates data about traders (merchants, craftsmen, servicemen and shoppers) activities and relationships needed to sustain them; about expected uses of *aswaq*; and about behavioural opportunities and constraints that *aswaq* provide. Each observation comprises of relationships between merchants, craftsmen, servicemen and shoppers among themselves and with each other to which *aswaq* physical layout in some way contributes.

The subject of behaviour observation is merchants, craftsmen, servicemen and shoppers. They are doing certain activities that can be described by the trade process of

each of them. These activities are dealt with either individually or in groups. The relationships between them can be described according to the level of abstraction of their activities, and how their relationships are attributed to *aswaq* layout. This method is characterised by :

- Observing merchants, craftsmen, servicemen and shoppers to give a feeling for the character of the trade process, which allows one to get into *aswaq*: to understand nuances that users of that setting feel.
- It enables one to perceive directly relevant nuances that interviews cannot report.
- It provides a glimpse of the role of time in the life of *aswaq* by looking at traders and shoppers doing activities; changes , activities affected other activities, particular which episodes take place.
- It also provides awareness of repetition of certain activities in identifiable places.
- The main tools are verbal description and diagrams, pre-coded checklists for counting, maps, and photographs. Maps are particularly convenient to observe and analyse individual or several traders in the whole *aswaq* at the same time. Also, they are useful to record sequences of behaviour in *aswaq* .

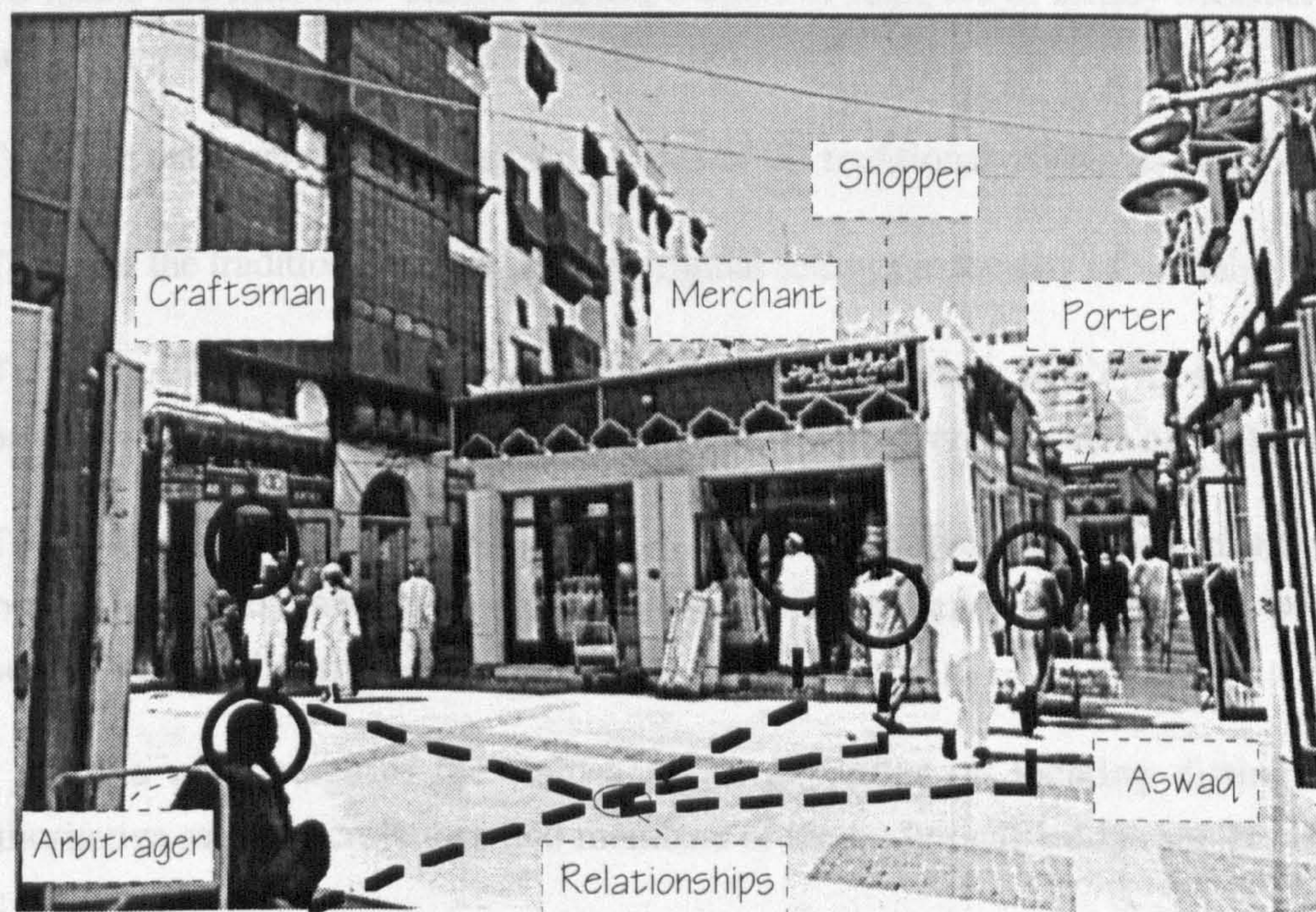


Fig. 5.2 Behavioural observation of the traditional *aswaq*

5.3 Goals and objectives of the field work

Goals

- * To produce the data necessary to establish an understanding of the structure of the internal organisation of the traditional *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah between the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This should also include a sufficient understanding of the associated activities of these institutions.
- * To determine the transformation of these socio-cultural institutions from the traditional guild-system to the modern chamber of commerce.
- * To examine the societal transition of the 1970s and its impact on commercial activities in the city of Jeddah in terms of changing norms, habits, and lifestyles.

Objectives:

- * To locate and interview the living 'heads' of the trade and craft guilds (*shayukh*), and masters of trades and crafts (*mu'allamin*) who teach these crafts (*hiraff*).
- * To locate and interview elderly clients, owners or relatives of family members who worked in or witnessed the activities of the traditional *aswaq*.
- * To locate and interview as many merchants of the traditional *aswaq* as possible.
- * To locate the traditional *aswaq* in their original settings in the city of Jeddah.
- * To locate the traditional *aswaq* layouts and their elements, *jam'i* mosques, corner mosques, shops, workshops, coffee shops, khans, restaurants, streets and alleys.
- * To become familiar with published information and archival collections relating to the subject under study, and the possibility of using this material as affirmative evidence when testing oral information for validity.

The main stage of the field analysis depended on locating distinguishing authoritative master - craftsmen and members of the traditional Jeddah society in order to :

- Determine the authority and control of the master of the different guilds over the process of trade and production.
- Determine the authority of the traditional guilds over *suq* codes and regulations.
- Determine the extent of the influence of socio - cultural norms and accepted behavioural patterns on the process of trade and production.
- Locat details and documents of trade and production methods.
- Determine the existence of any particular traditional social functions, ceremonies or celebrations (physical, spiritual) which were associated with trade and production.
- Recollect images of the traditional *aswaq* way of life in terms of merchants; habits, socio-cultural norms, behavioural patterns, typical *suq* life style, *aswaq* social network, and so on.
- Determine the traditional position of the master - trade in the communication process with consumers and merchants or traders in *aswaq*.
- Interviews with current merchants or traders of traditional *aswaq* were conducted in order to establish the ranking system of the traditional guild through understanding the method of upgrading the position of the guild members, on which was considered to be the norms of each guild.
- Determine the location of the traditional *aswaq* and their elements; *jam`i* mosques, corner mosques, shops, workshops, coffee shops, khans, restaurants, streets and alleys, in their original setting.

5.3 Procedure and techniques:

The investigation was carried out in Jeddah. The main targets were the historical areas where the traditional *aswaq* could be studied in their natural settings. Data was supplied by the municipality of Jeddah; *al-balad* branch (old Jeddah branch), the Islamic Economy Centre (it is a contribution by one of the famous merchants in Jeddah; his name is Salah Kamal) in King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, and Old Jeddah preservation Department; Municipality of Jeddah. A total of 252 slides, and 288 photographic prints of traditional *aswaq* were taken. 70 documents were gathered from Dr. Mubark Al - Muabady, who collected them from Turkey and Egypt while he did his Ph.D. in Egypt (The Commercial Activity of Jeddah Sea Port 1840 - 1916 , unpublished PhD, Ayn Shams University, Cairo, 1989).

The investigation began by locating the traditional *aswaq* in their original setting and their elements; *jam`i* mosques, corner mosques, shops, workshops, coffee shops, khans, restaurants, streets and alleys in their original setting. Then, the investigation located the living traders and craftsmen of the traditional *aswaq* as an initial preparation for possible interviews. This was done through personal contacts and recommendations of Mr. Abdulaziz Al- Dahlaui, the head of the old markets supervision department in the municipality branch of the old town for the last 40 years, and some of the local merchants who I met on a previous visit to the area.

Most of the conducted interviews were initiated and attended by local merchants or craftsmen with the help of Mr. Al-Juhany (Department of Market Supervision). In acknowledgement of their assistance, for which I am indebted, I feel bound to mention their names. Al-Juhany has worked in the municipality for 14 years. He is a familiar figure in *aswaq* of Jeddah, and he established a strong relationship with the people of *aswaq* , whether merchants or craftsmen, even with consumers. His father was a merchant in the greengrocer *suq*; *Al - nauaryh suq*. The language skill of Mr. Al-Juhany was vitally important throughout the interviews which added to the authenticity of the translation from the traditional commercial Juddaui (in relation to Jeddah) dialect to the English texts presented in this research. Also, Dr. Hisham Jomah, who had experienced this technique while he was doing his PhD² , provided me with valuable advice in doing such interviews, and explained the difficulties I would face.

2- The Traditional Process of Producing a House in Arabia during the 18th and 19th century; a case study of Hedjaz, Edinburgh University, 1992.

As the informant's place was determined and appointments were made, I visited them with Al-Juhany to introduce me and give the reason for the interviews, beside his contribution in interpretations. The aim was to make people feel as if I was listening to them talking in an ordinary conversation and a proper social setting; instead of asking them about certain information directly. One of the main concerns at this point was unobtrusive introduction of the tape - recorder so as not to offend the informants or to prevent them from talking freely about their feelings.

An informal interview was used to stimulate the atmosphere of a social visit where several people participated. Also, interviews took place during the relaxing time; *Yuha* (late morning) or after *Mughrib* prayer (*Mughrib* means sunset), where social gatherings were common and welcome daily occurrences, and guaranteed the presence of a good number of friends and relatives in all interviews. I was merely a listener to ensure that informants fluently expressed themselves about the experiences they had. Although all the interviews were based on a structured, predetermined set of questions which were developed in certain categories, most of these questions were open - ended to allow for a free flow of unanticipated information. The aim of this was not to deprive myself of potentially important insights into the subject at hand and the informants' feelings about it. It also allowed the respondent to elaborate, clarify and reinterpret his own descriptions. The final aim was that the resulting conversation followed the course prescribed by the listeners rather than the person being interviewed. The target data involved two major categories A) Finding facts about *aswaq* and understanding how they worked, why they took the spatial form they did, how they were structured organisationally. This is concerned with trying to reconstruct the traditional *suaq*. B) Here special emphasis was given to factual data, seeking objective information concerning how people feel about *aswaq* - whether asking people working in them or responsible for them in some way, or simply people who use them. This is concerned with the place of *aswaq* in the modern city, and how they compare with modern shopping centres.

Almost all interviews and site - visits depend on obtaining as many tape - recorded interviews as necessary. A typical interview lasted an average of one hour to one hour thirty minutes, most of which was tape - recorded. All taped interview material was transcribed word for word into separate dated files which included comments and further required action. In case of obtaining an appointment with the informants for a second meeting, organisation of the information gathered in each

interview according to chronology or topical category was prepared along with a list of further questions.

The material gathered in these interviews included items such as traditional way of trade and production, guilds ranking and upgrading, norms and values inside the guild and among other guilds, and *suq* people's behaviour. To evaluate the accuracy of the obtained oral tradition, two methods were used : the first was through internal tests which evaluated the material in terms of its own self - consistency; and the other was through external tests which gained the approval of more than one person to the same facts. The presence of the oral tradition in the repertoires of more than one informant within the *aswaq* guilds or the *suq* community was one means by which authenticity was assured (this was achieved by the repetition of the questions to a number of persons or by having a form of communal interview where a number of local traders and their apprentices were present). Furthermore, the existence of physical evidence to the testimony of an informant was enough to verify the authenticity of his accounts. An example of this is the existence of a *hush* , *wakala*, old port and *aswaq* settings.

In general, priority of recorded information was given to the most experienced of traders, heads and former heads of different crafts (*shayukh al -hirrf* and *shayukh al - aswaq*), as well as those residents of the old part of Jeddah recommended to me by Abdulaziz Al-Dahlaui for their factual authenticity.

Translation of these interviews was kept as direct as possible. Tapes were transcribed verbatim and then were edited to remove false starts and hackneyed expressions, words and phrases (e.g., as you know, my son, look my son). While the regional accent was not a problem in translation, because that *suq* was a mixed culture, but within a group of the same trade or craft there was a dialect based on technical terminology with a little modification. Instead, traditional proverbs were phonetically produced in English, followed by translation of the proverb to render it more readily comprehensible. This ensured that the direct interpretation of the Jeddah cultural environment - which made possible a coherent, meaningful and valued way of trade for those who share the dialect - comes forth.

Finally, in all interviews, permission from informants to use tape - recorded materials was obtained, and taking pictures of them. A number of informants, however, requested that taped interviews used any further in the research should be with their permissions, and most of them refused to allow pictures to be taken of them. I fully respected the wishes of my interviewees.

5.4 Informants³ :

Questions to traders and craftsmen comprised all the categories entitled in this thesis, and a number of open - ended questions concerning typical days in their professions, as well as the typical Jeddah *aswaq*. The merchants and craftsmen also related a number of morality tales which involved old Jeddah people, legends, myths and even verses from the Holy Quran and the Prophet's Traditions in the form of folk - stories. These helped to produce an image of these traders and of the traditional Jeddah traders lifestyles, beliefs, norms and folklore.

Their interpretations of their life experience in the trades and crafts furnished this research with whys and hows of traditional *aswaq* forms, and the way they were processed within the particular socio - cultural context of Jeddah during the 19th and 20th centuries.

However, names of informants were omitted where information obtained from the main source - traders and craftsmen - were repeated or not added to by others. Personal information about traders and craftsmen is limited to what I was permitted by them to record. Respecting their wishes, only their names are mentioned in this work while all their personal details are omitted.

This research is primarily based - unless otherwise specified - on a number interviews date from 16th of October 92 to 16th January 93, with the following people :

Al-Dahluy, who acted as the advisor and consultant to the interviewing team. Interviews with him was conducted on 24th of October 92. He was of great help in the interpretation and elaboration of ambiguous terminologies, implicit connotations and submerged meaning and other traditional technical jargon used by traders and craftsmen. He is the manger of *Aswaq* Administration in the municipality of Jeddah in the area of the old Jeddah. He is in this position for the last 40 years. The interview was held at the back yard of the municipality branch of al - balad area (old town). The interview took place in the early evening between 7 - 8:30 pm (between the Mughrib prayer and `Isha prayer). He provided⁴ me with the informants names and their

³- See Appendix B. " Interview checklists".

⁴- *shaykh al - Najaryin* is *shaykh* Hamid Atyih; *`Umdah Al - handauyih*. *Shaykh Al - Saghah* (pl. of *saygh* = goldsmith) is Ali Azuz. *Shaykh Al - hamlyin* (pl. of *hamal* = porter) is Hassan Bakrr (died and his son Muhammed took his place). *Shaykh Al - dalalyin* (pl. of *dalal* = auctioneer), and *al - samasirah* (pl. of *smasar* = broker) is Ali Ashur; *shaykh al - harj* (auction). *Shaykh al - banaun* (builders), *mu`allam* Ibrihyim Asary, *mu`allam* Tysyr, *mu`allam* Iysa Abdul Aty. *Shaykh al - smanah* (

addresses, as he said " `Atyi al-qaras li khabazah "; (give the bread to baker = this is a proverb, means consult the experts who know better)

Shaykh Salam Baqys, is a famous grain merchant in *Suq* Al - badu. He started his profession as a trader in 1948 on his own. During his childhood, he was an employee in another grain merchants. Now, beside his profession as a grain merchant, he is Imam (leader of prayers) in the nearby mosque. Interview was held in his shop after *mughrib* prayer until `Isha prayer (7 - 8:30 pm), in the presence of other grain merchants and one of his old friends, who was *dalal* (broker) in this *suq*.

Shaykh Ali Azuz was the *shaykh* of the goldsmith guild and Gold *suq*. He worked in gold for 55 years. He left school in 1928, then he worked in the municipality of Jeddah for two years, after that he worked in his father's shop (Hashim Azuz), who was a goldsmith, as was the custom of all sons of the craftsmen and traders.

Shaykh Hamid Atyih was *shaykh* of *al-najarrin* (carpenter guild). He worked in Najarah (carpenter craft) from 1932 until 1956 where he was elected as `Umdah of *harah* al-Hanidayih (*shaykh* of al- hanidayih neighbourhood). He inherited the profession from his father, then he became *mu'allam* after years of learning the profession. After his father's death, all members of *al- Najarrin* guild selected him as the *shaykh* of the guild.

Mu'allam Matuq Abdulaty, was *mu'allam bana* (builder). He built 20 years with mud and stone, and 40 years with reinforced concrete. His age when the interview took place was 87 years. The interview was held in his *muqhah* (*muqhah* is a social gathering place, accessible from outside as well as from inside the house) at *duha* (late morning 10:30 - 12 am), in the presence of his friend and his son who is an architect, who graduated from Italy in the early 80s.

Shaykh Ali Sayd Ashur is *shaykh* Al - *dalalyin* (head of the brokerage guild), for the last 30 years. The interview was held in his office in *suq* Al - *haraj*, after *al - mughrib* prayer (7 - 8:30 pm).

Shaykh Bakrr Muhammed Bakrr, is *shaykh* Al - *tabakhyin* (pl. of *Tabakh* = cook). He has been in this profession for the last 50 years. The interview was held in

smman = butter seller) is Abu al - hamayl. *Shakh* al - *hababah* is, also, Abu al - hamayl but the eldest merchant is Salam Baqyis.

his *murkaz* (high wooden sofa) in front of his *mutabakh* (n. sing. of *mutabakh* = catering shop), at 7:30 am , in the presence of some members of *tabakh* guild.

Abdulqadyr Al-Basha, is a merchant trading in tents and party supplies to engagement ceremonies and weddings. Hejaz has certain traditions which accompanied such social ceremonies. He started his profession as *dalal* in *suq al - haraj*. The interview was held in his *murkaz* (high wooden sofa) in *al - mudlum* neighbourhood in the presence of some of the eldest people of the neighbourhood.

Hasan Nasyr is the manger of department of training and research in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Jeddah. He has worked for the chamber 12 years. He provided me with great help in explaining the duties of the chamber, and its development as well as providing access to their library.

Finally, Abdulrahman Nasyf. He is a resident of the old area of Jeddah where *aswaq* were located. His family is one of the notables of Jeddah. The family house is considered as a master piece of the traditional architecture in Hejaz, located in *suq Al-Jam`* where his office as lawyer is located. He has some interest in traditional architecture, where he was taught by Hassan Fathy (Egyptian Architect) for six years after which he designed his house in Jeddah; and *shari`ah* Law which he is practising as a solicitor.

CHAPTER SIX

LAYOUT OF THE SUQ

CHAPTER SIX :

LAYOUT OF THE SUQ

The study of all aspects of the traditional *aswaq* in the City of Jeddah (social, religious, economical and cultural), as we saw in Chapters Two, Three and Four, provides us with a material expression of the physical layout of *aswaq*. This is what this chapter deals with. In order to devise a physical portrait and recognise the urban morphology of *aswaq*, it is necessary to see the practical interpretations of all the stated aspects. In other words, it is the study of *aswaq* in relation to the city, to the congregational mosque, and in relation to each other in the light of all these aspects. This will complete the whole picture of the traditional *aswaq*.

6.1 Aswaq - City Relationship:

The City of Jeddah gained, commercially, its position because of its location on two trade routes; the Red Sea trade route and the Western trade route of the Arabian peninsula, as well as its proximity to Makkah and Al-Madinah (the two holy cities of the Islamic World), as we saw in chapter two.

The former trade route became the dominant trade route to the area and to international trade. Accordingly, trade routes became elements of *aswaq* urban growth for the City of Jeddah until 1947 when the city wall was demolished.

Trade played a great part in urbanisation through its need for great centres for exchange of products and promotion of production of goods. Therefore, centres of exchange stretched



Fig 6. 1 A plan of Old Jeddah by Nallino, Pesce, 1974, p.107.

from *Bab Al-Bunt* (Port Gate) in the west side of the city to *Bab Makkah* (Makkah Gate) in the east side of the city, from *Bab Al-Madinah* (Madinah Gate) in the north side of the city to *Bab Sharyf* (Sharyf Gate) in the south side of the city. These centres formed two inter crossed axes. Along these inter crossed axes *aswaq* are located.

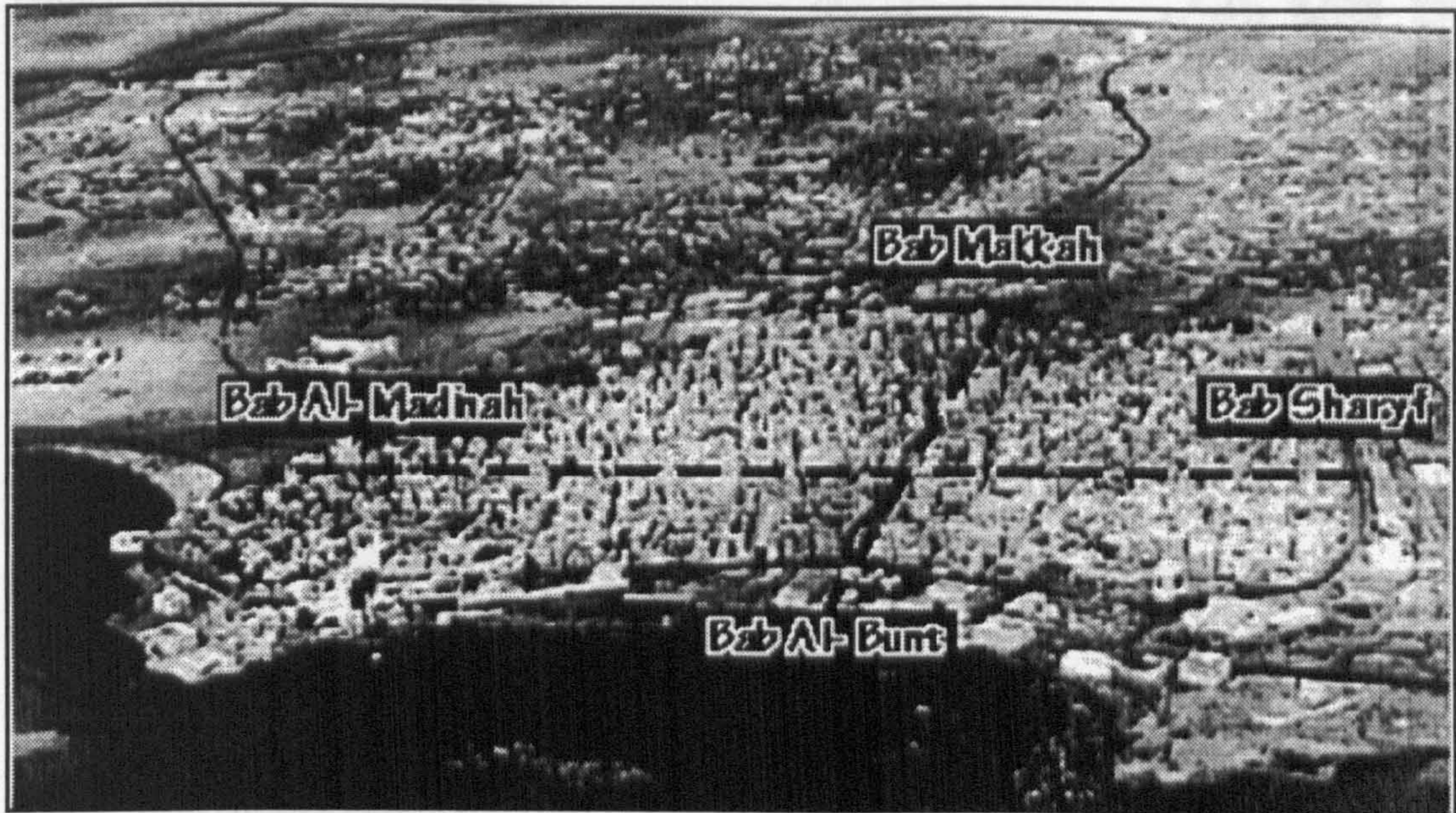


Fig. 6. 2 Inter crossed Axes (Adapted from Pesc, 1976. p 143)

Each *bab* (gate) of the city wall had a particular activity in terms of trade, which depended on the *bab's* function. For example *Bab Makkah* (the east side) connects Jeddah with Makkah, Najad (central part of Arabian peninsula) and the eastern part.

People who used this gate were mainly Bedouin (desert people), so *aswaq* activities near this gate and along its axis were mainly exchange, like textile and fabrics, grain, and veils. *Aswaq* located on this axis were *Suq Al-Badu* (Bedouin Market), *Suq Al-Alawi* (Al-Alawi market).



Fig. 6.3 Bab Makkah.

On the other side there was *Bab Al Bunt* (port gate on the west side). This gate connects Jeddah with the harbour on the Red Sea. This gate played a very important role in the commercial activities of Jeddah, as well as the reception of the pilgrims to Makkah. All imported products went through

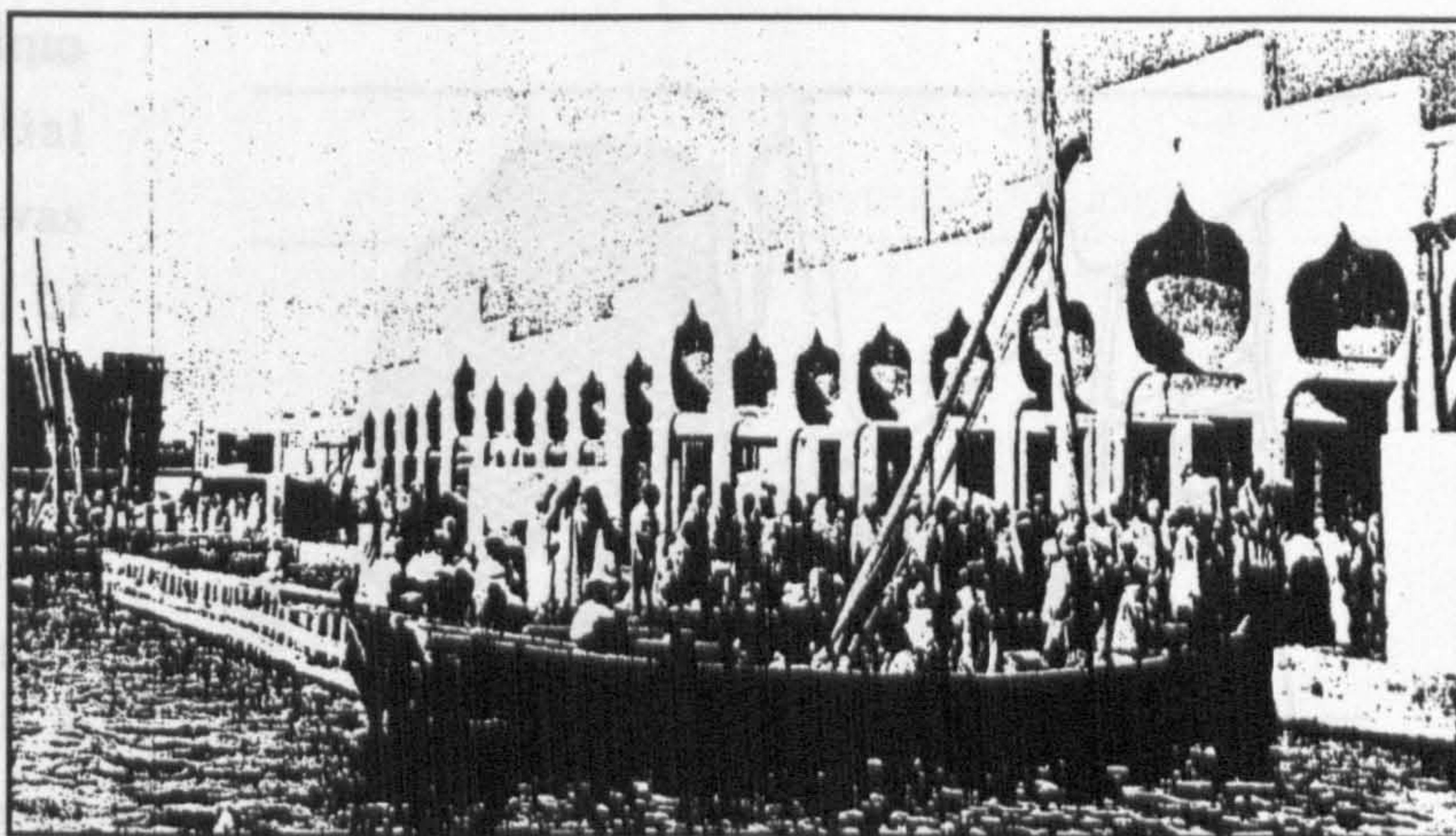


Fig. 6. 4 Bab Al-Bunt

this gate. So, all import agencies and *Al-Buyut Al-Tadjaryah* were located near this gate, also their *ahuash* (pl. of *hush* = warehouse or store) were located nearby, also the money exchange and stores were situated near this gate.

Bab Al-Madinah, on the north side, connects Jeddah with Al-Madinah, north part of Hejaz, and north and north-west of the Arabian peninsula. People who used this gate were pilgrims to Madinah, the people of North Hejaz, and the people from the north and north-west of the Arabian peninsula. So, *aswaq* along this axis are mainly where these people exchanged their goods, like household fabrics and textiles, grain, and food. *Aswaq* located along this axis were *Suq Al-Nada*, *Suq Al-Kabyir*.

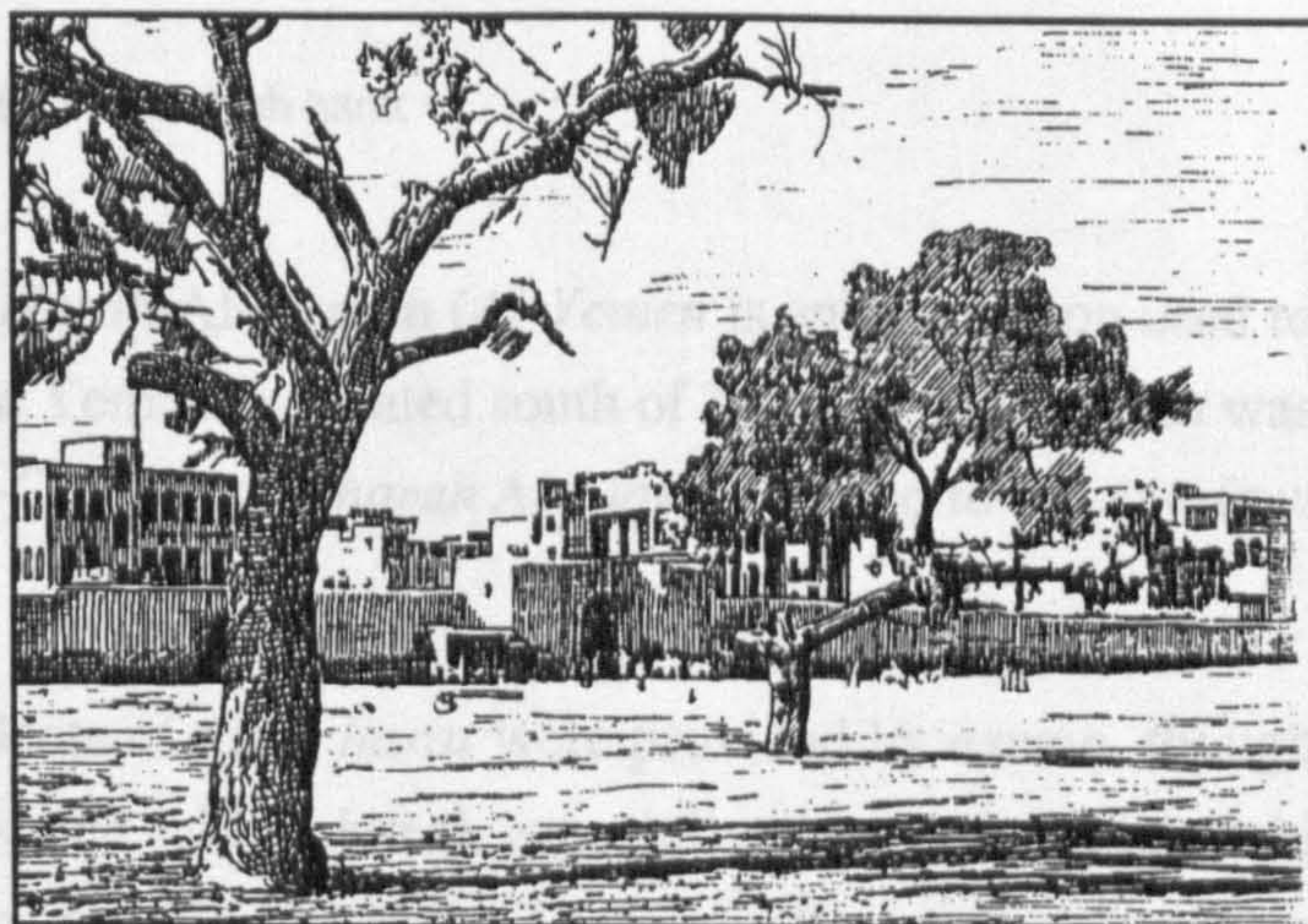


Fig 6. 5 Bab Al-Madinah

On the other side, there was *Bab Sharyf* (Sharyf gate on the south side). This gate connects Jeddah to the south of Hejaz and Yemen. People who used this gate were mainly Yemeni. *Aswaq* along this axis were where people exchanged goods such as coffee, tobacco, and food.

Furthermore, these *aswaq* divided the city into three unequal residential sections. Each section was known by *harah* (n. sing. of *harat* = neighbourhood). At the north and north-west side, there was *harah al-sham* (*Al-Sham* literally means Syria and Fertile Crescent, but it was used as an expression of the direction north).

To the east there was *harah Al-Mudhlum* (*Al-Mudhlum* means "persecuted"). It was designated so because it was the location of an execution of a well-known citizen at the hands of the Ottomans (Al-

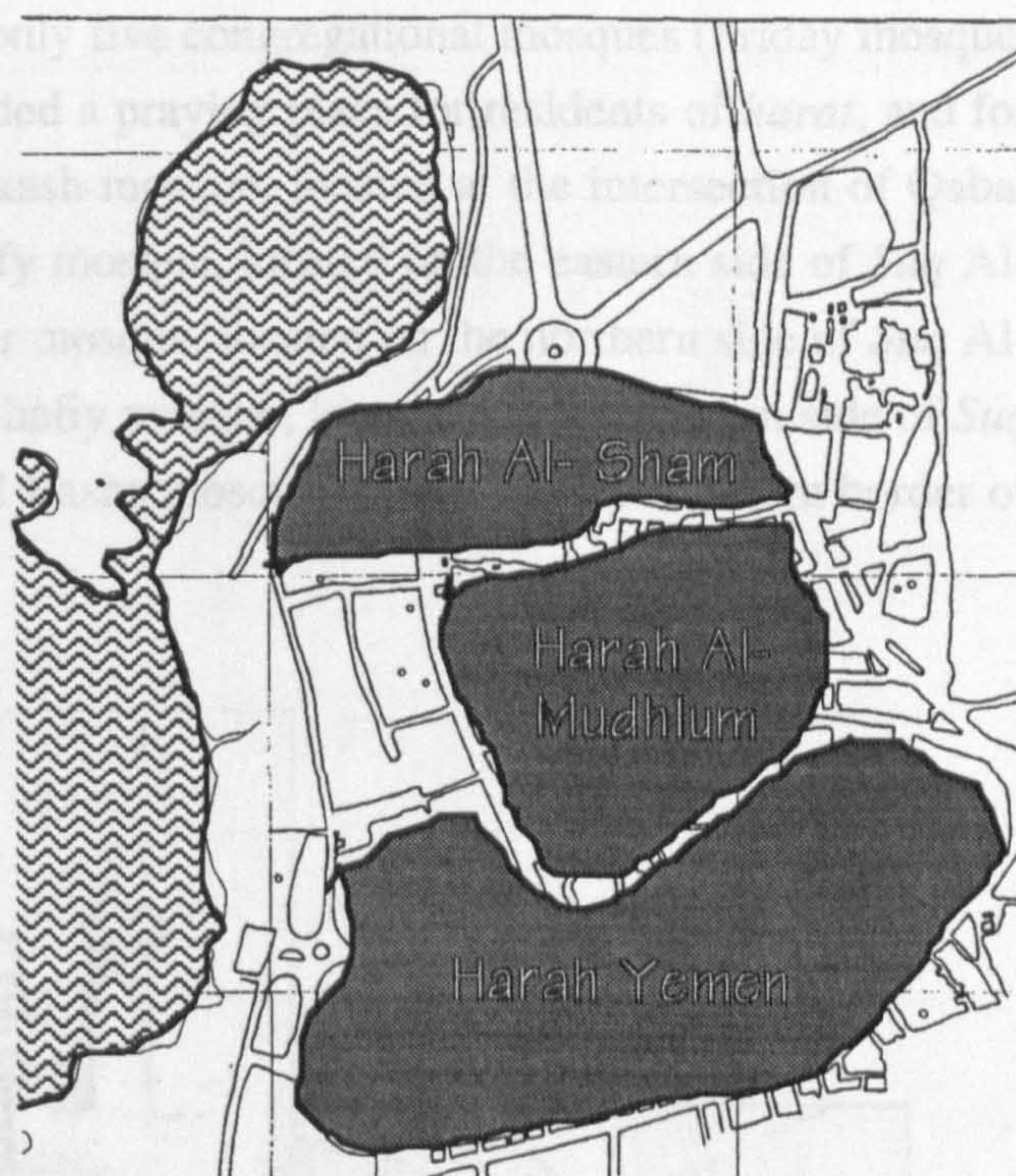


Fig. 6. 6 Jeddah harat

Ansari, 1982, p.446). To the south and south-west, there was *Harah Al-Yemen* (*Al-Yemen* is an expression used to express the south direction, where Yemen is situated south of Jeddah). This *Harah* was divided into *Harah Al-Bahr* (Sea-Quarter) and *harah Al-Alawi*, referred to the *Al-Alawi* mosque.

All the needs of the residents of these *harat* were provided by *aswaq*, though there were many small shops located within *harah* especially at corners which sold basic daily goods like sugar, tea, butter, and grain. These small corner-shops were called *dakkan Al-Sukrr Wa Al-Shahy* (*Sukkr* means sugar, *shahy* means tea). Sugar and tea shops are expressions used for 'convenience' shops.

6.2 Suq - Mosque Relationship

Up to the 1950s there were only five congregational mosques (Friday mosque, called *Jami*) in Jeddah. They provided a praying place for residents of *harat*, and for *aswaq* participants. They were: Ukash mosque, located at the intersection of Qabal Street with *Suq* Al-Kabyr. Al-Hanfey mosque, located on the eastern side of *Suq* Al-Nada in *harah* Al-Sham - Al-Mimar mosque, located on the northern side of *Suq* Al-Alawi in *harah* Al-Mudhlum - Al-Shafiy mosque, located on the northern side of *Suq* Al-Badu in *harah* Al-Mudhlum - Al Basha mosque, located on the northern border of *Suq* Al-Nada in *harah* Al-Sham.

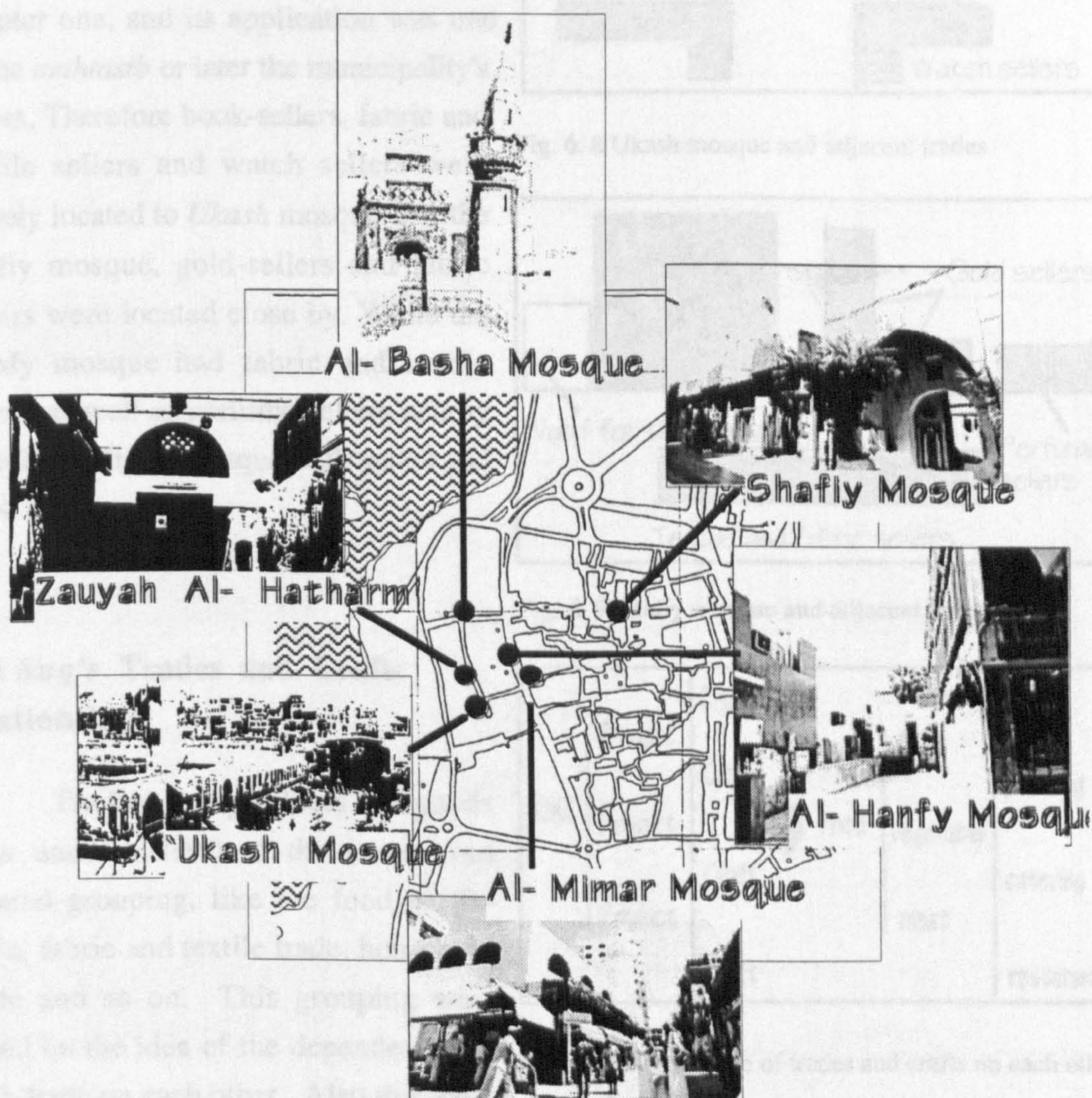


Fig. 6. 7 Jeddah's *Jami* mosques

In addition to the *Jami* mosques, there were many *Zauaya* (pl. of *Zauyah* = small corner mosque) for residents of the *harat*, but not for Friday prayers, like *Zauyah Al-Hatharm* in *harah Al-Sham*, and *Zauyah Uthman Iban `Afan* in *harah Al-Mudhlum*.

Jami mosques in the city of Jeddah, as all Islamic cities, attracted to the area certain trades which were less offensive, like book-sellers, perfume-sellers, and gold-sellers. This attraction is based on the idea of "no harm nor reciprocation of harm", as we saw in chapter one, and its application was one of the *muhtasib* or later the municipality's duties. Therefore book-sellers, fabric and textile sellers and watch sellers were closely located to *Ukash* mosque. For the shafiy mosque, gold-sellers and fabric sellers were located close by. While the Hanfy mosque had fabric and textile sellers as well as perfume sellers nearby as did the Mimar mosque with watch and book sellers.

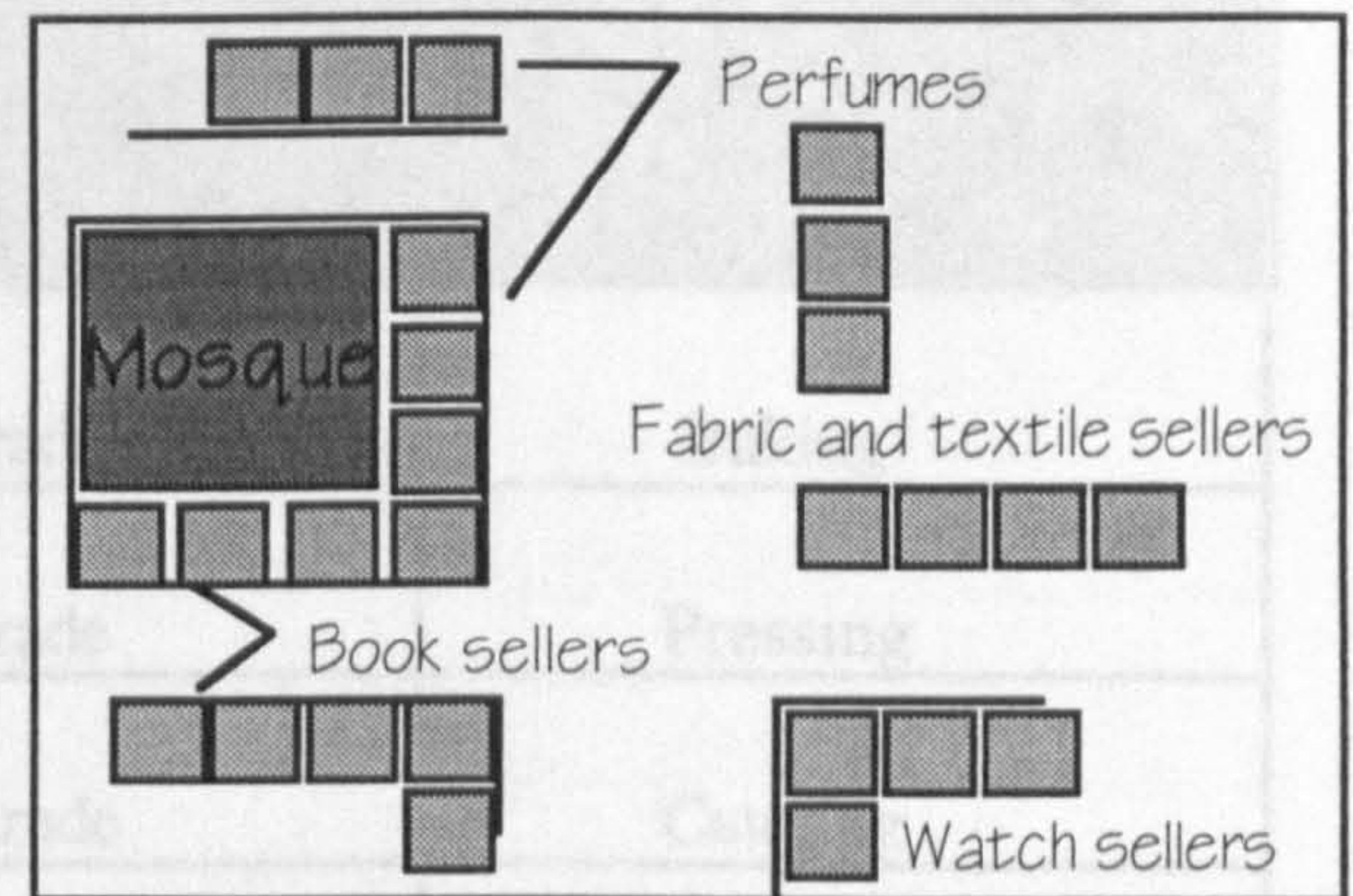


Fig. 6. 8 Ukash mosque and adjacent trades

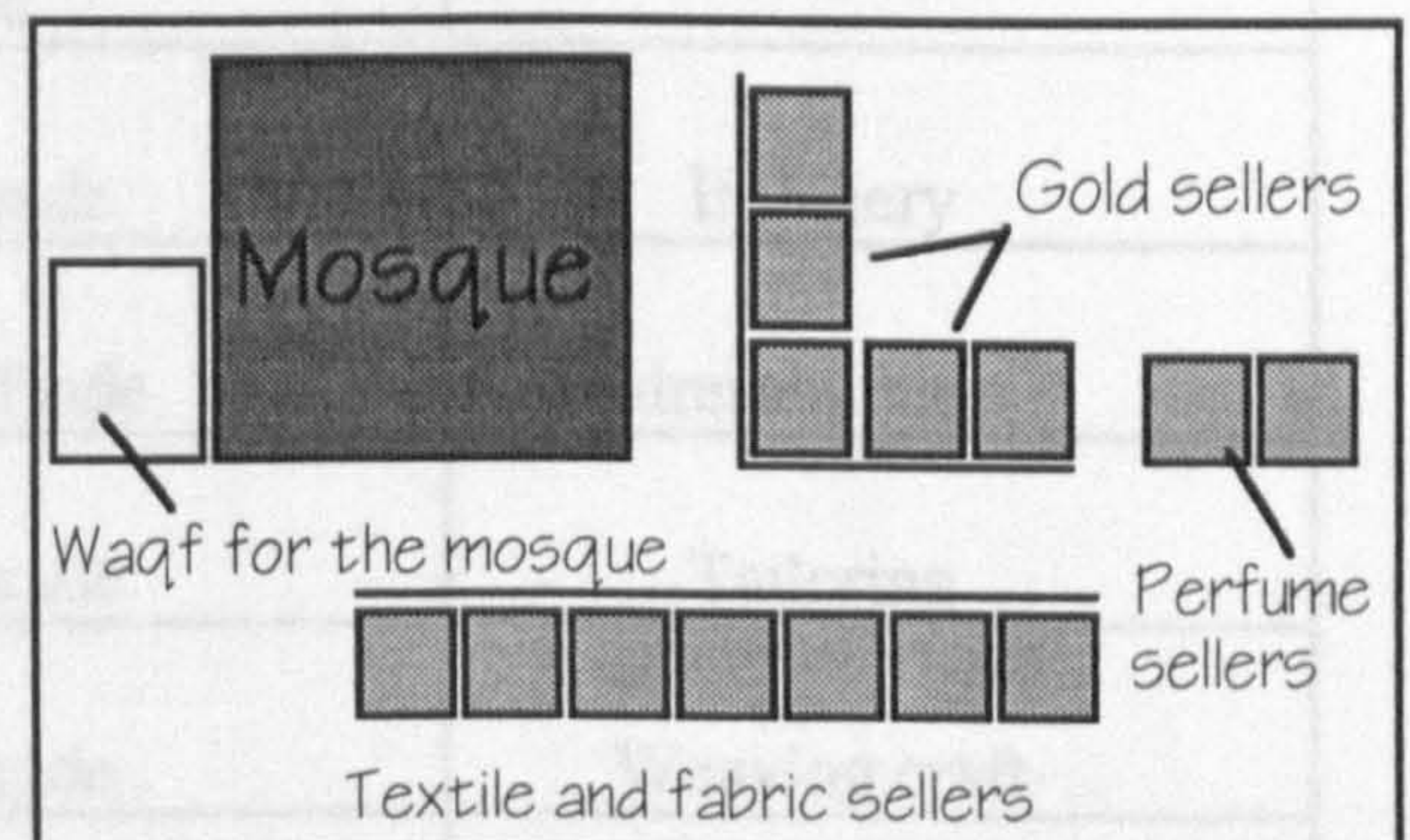


Fig. 6. 9 Shafiy mosque and adjacent trades.

6. 3 *Suq's* Trades and Crafts relationship

Trading of products or goods (raw and finished) of the same kind created grouping, like the food stuffs-trade, fabric and textile trade, household trade and so on. This grouping was based on the idea of the dependence of each trade on each other. Also this idea applied to craft-trades according to their products or materials. For example, the mill-craft or pressing-craft depends on the grain-trade, dress making-craft depends on the fabric and textile trade, carpentry craft depends on the wood trade, and so on.

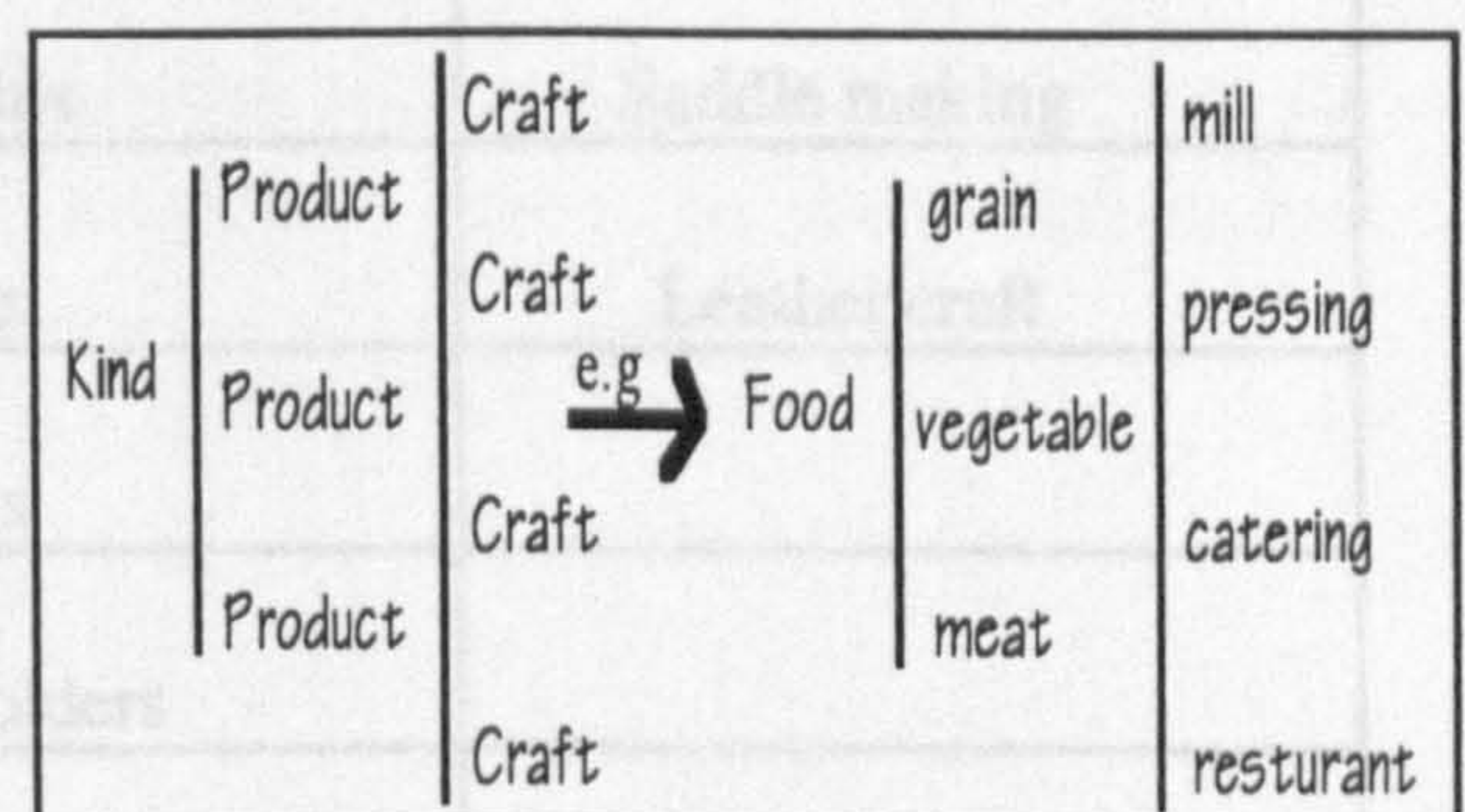


Fig. 6. 10 Dependence of trades and crafts on each other.

Table (1) Shows the different kinds of products and the associated trades and crafts in the city of Jeddah.

Kind	Trade	Craft
Food	Grain trade	Baking
	Butter trade	Pressing
	Cheese trade	Catering
	Vegetable and fruit trade	Mill craft
	Meat trade	Butchery
Fabric stuffs	Textile Trade	dressmaking
	Dress trade	Tailoring
	Veils trade	Weaving craft
Leather stuffs	Shoes	Shoe making
	Saddles	Saddle making
	Bags	Leather craft
	Belts	
	Arm - holders	
Jewellery	Gold trade	Goldsmith
	Jewellery trade	Jewellery craft
	Beads	Bead-punching

Household goods	Furniture	Carpentry
	Palm leaf items	Palm leaf weaving
	Pottery items	Pottery
	Brass	Brass smith
	Firewood and charcoal	Wood cutting and charcoal making
	Tins (containers)	Tinsmith
	Glass	
Fish and sea food	Fish trade	Fishing
		Frying
		Cleaning
		Catering
Luxuries	Watch trade	Watch maintenance
	Perfumes	Perfume making

In contrast, services like portage, weighing and brokerage did not follow the role of dependence on their trade process. Services interacted as we saw in chapter four in all trade processes, so they took place in all groups.

6. 4 The Layout of Jeddah Aswaq

The relationship of *Suq* to the city, *Suq* to the mosque and its trades and crafts to each other, worked together providing the final combined layout of *aswaq*. Some trades or crafts kept close to the mosque, and some were outside the city gates, following the role of the relationships described earlier.

In the following, I will describe the layout of *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah. *Aswaq* were located on two perpendicular axes. One axis was parallel to the seashore from south to north, traditionally, known as Khratin Street. The second axis was from west to east, as we saw before.

On Khratin Street (fig. 6.11), three *aswaq* were located:

- Suq* Al-Khaskiyah mainly for household necessities;
- Suq* Al-Bunt (Al-Bunt = harbour) specialising in money exchange and in selling fish, dates and prayer beads made of *Yusr* (a species of coral which grows in the Red Sea);
- Suq* Al-Nada, the main market area with a variety of products ranging from fine imported cloth and jewels to food stuff, baked goods, and restaurants.

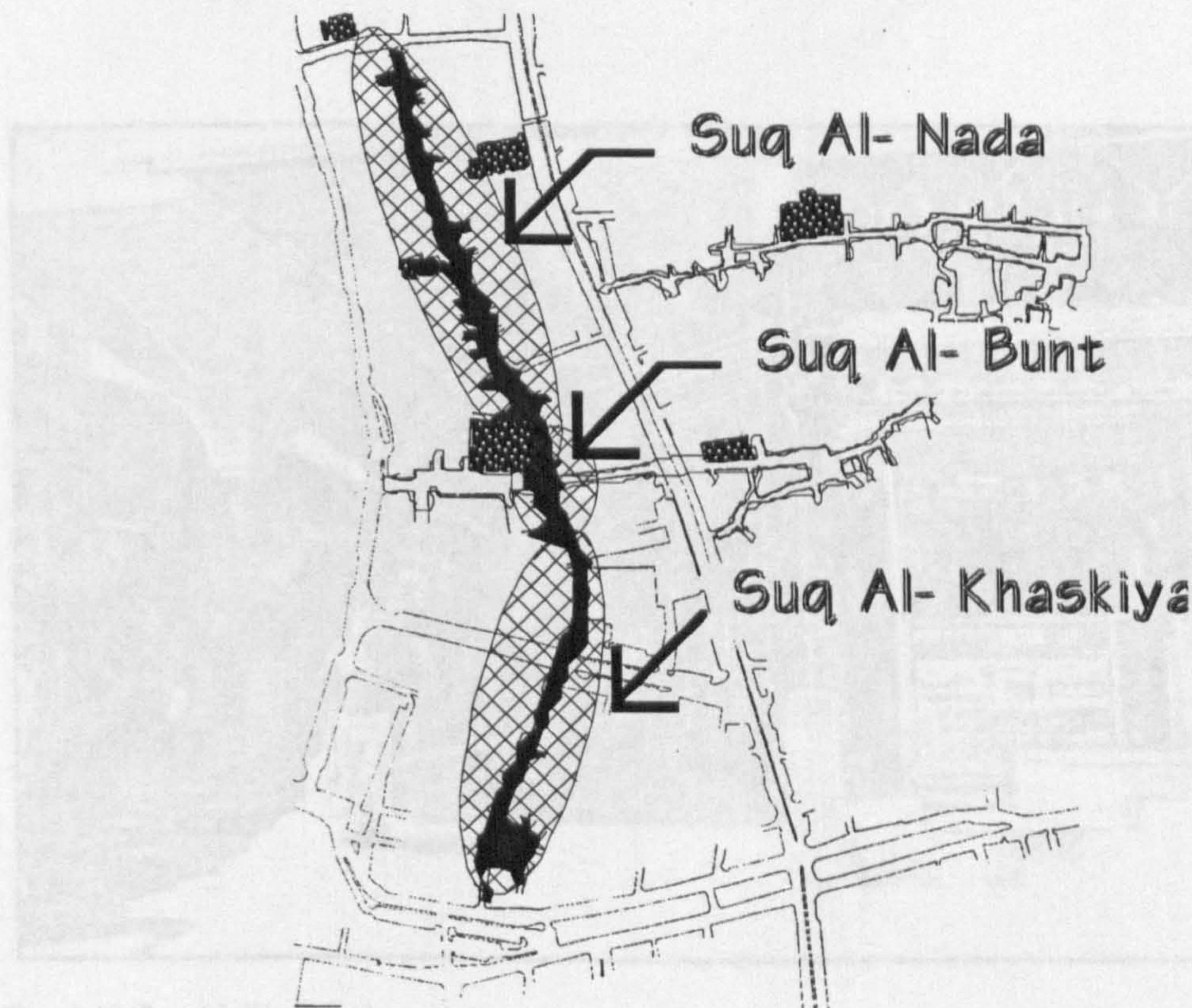


Fig. 6. 11 Khratin Street and its *aswaq*



Fig. 6.12 *Suq Al-Nada* (a recent photo)

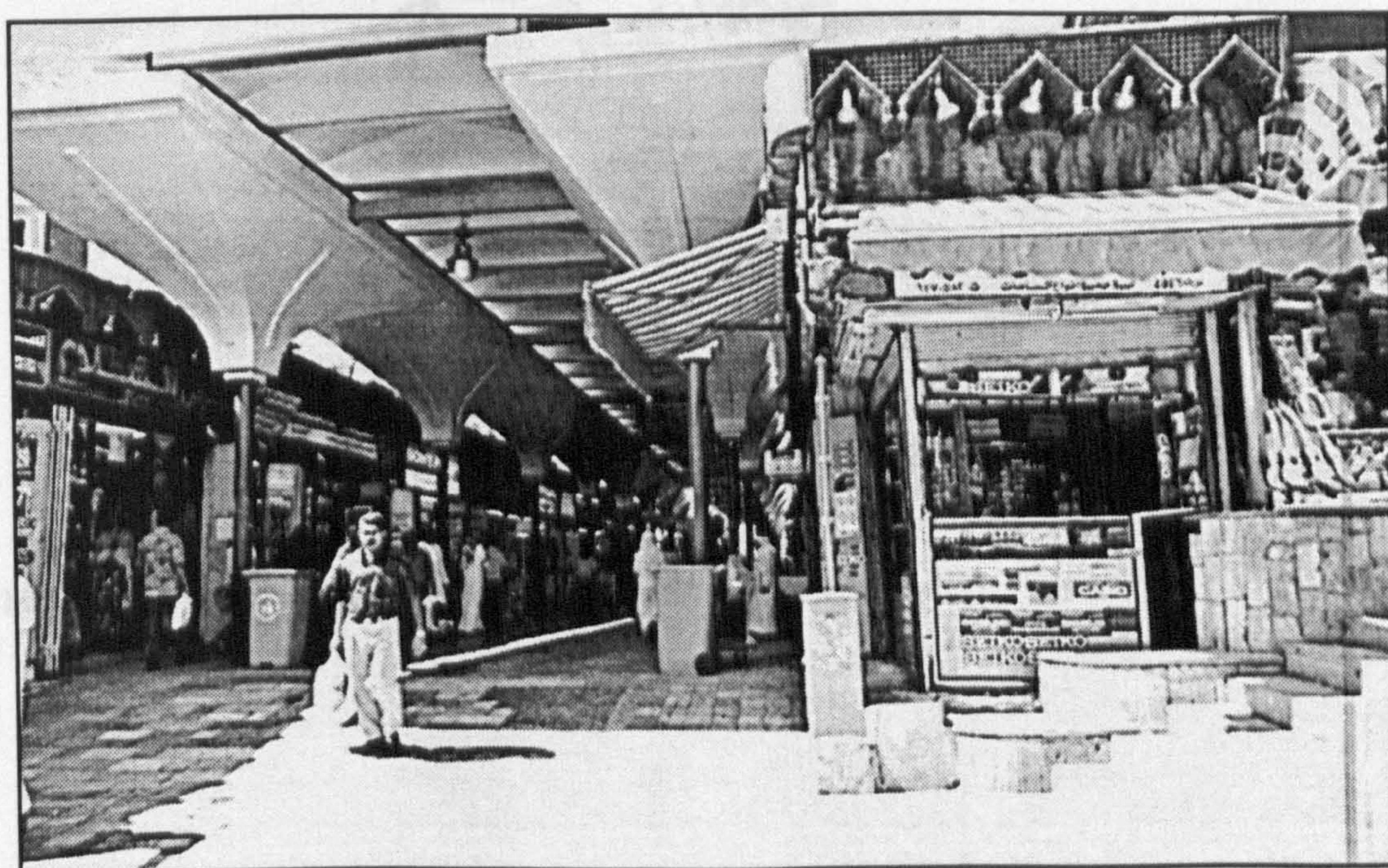


Fig. 6.13 *Suq Al-Khaskiyah*

On the second axis, west to east, which was perpendicular to the seashore, five *aswaq* were located (fig. 6.12):

- Suq Al-Hradj* (auction market) mainly for second hand items;
- Suq Al-Nuriyah*, mainly for vegetables, fruit and meat;
- Suq Al-Alawi*, mainly for food stuffs, grain, fabrics;
- Suq Al-Badu*, an extension of Al-Alawi towards *Bab Makkah* which specialised in Bedouin products and goods like grain, coffee, textiles, veils, etc.;
- Suq Al-Shafi* or Al-Jami, connected to *Suq Al Badu* from the west side.

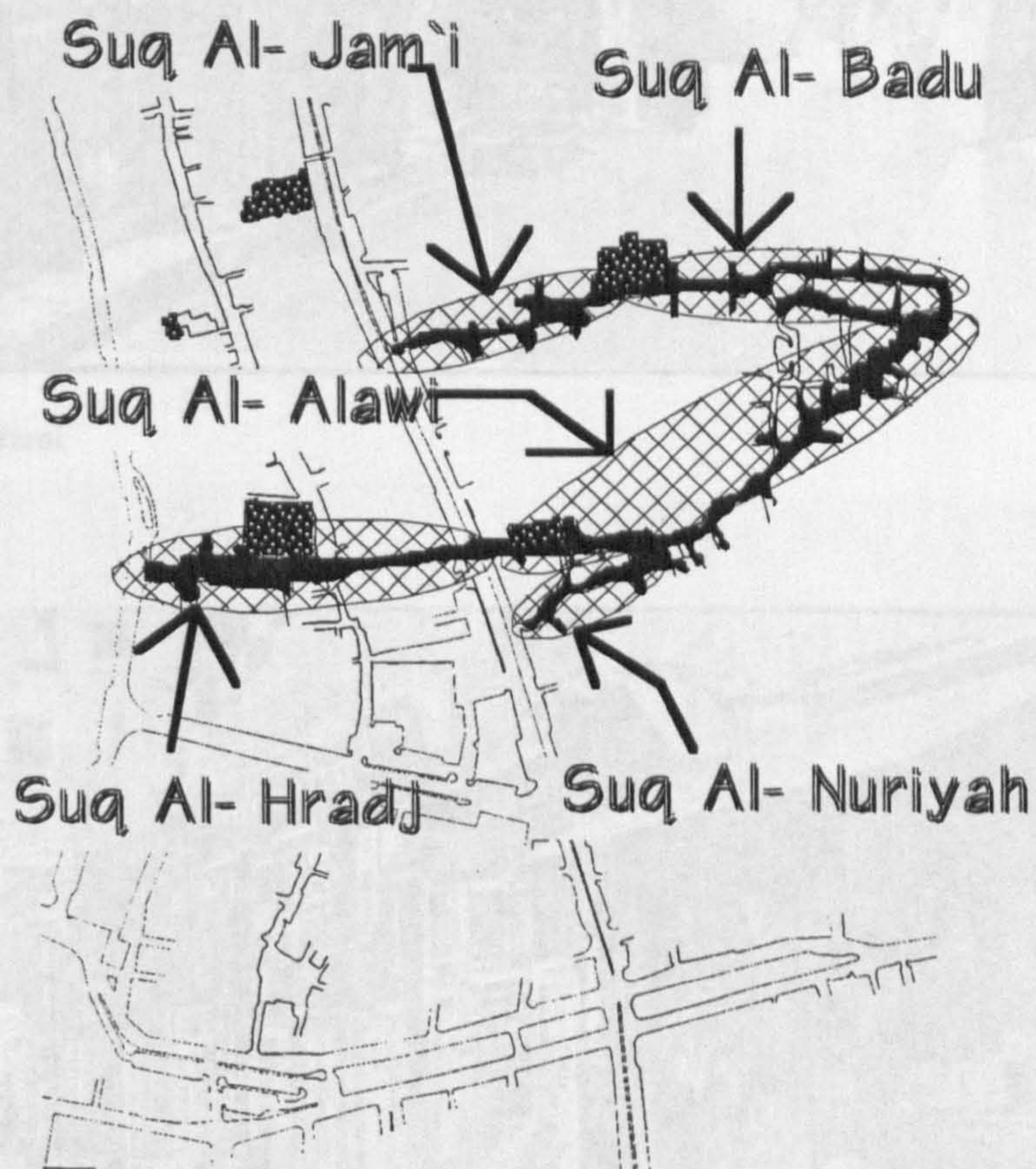


Fig. 6.14 West-East axis and its *aswaq*



Fig. 6.15 *Suq Al-Jami*



Fig. 6.16 *Suq Al-Nuriyah*



Fig. 6.17 *Suq* Al- Alawi



Fig. 6.18 *Suq* Al-Badu



Fig. 6.19 *Suq* Qabel (it was the location of *suq* Al-Hradj)

In contrast, there were *aswaq* which were outside the city gates or near to them. Some were outside the parameter of mosques and residential sections to avoid offending them (whether by noise, smell or smoke) as we saw before. These *aswaq* were:

- Suq Al-Muashy*, livestock market, located on the south-western border of the city;
- Suq Al-Asrr*, afternoon market, near *Bab Sharyf* (south gate);
- Suq Al-Fahm*, charcoal and cutting trees market, kept near to *Bab Al-Madinah* (north gate);
- Suq Al-Samk*, fish market, kept near to the sea shore, *Bab Al-Bunt*; -
- Pottery *suq* was kept outside *Bab Sharyf* (south gate).

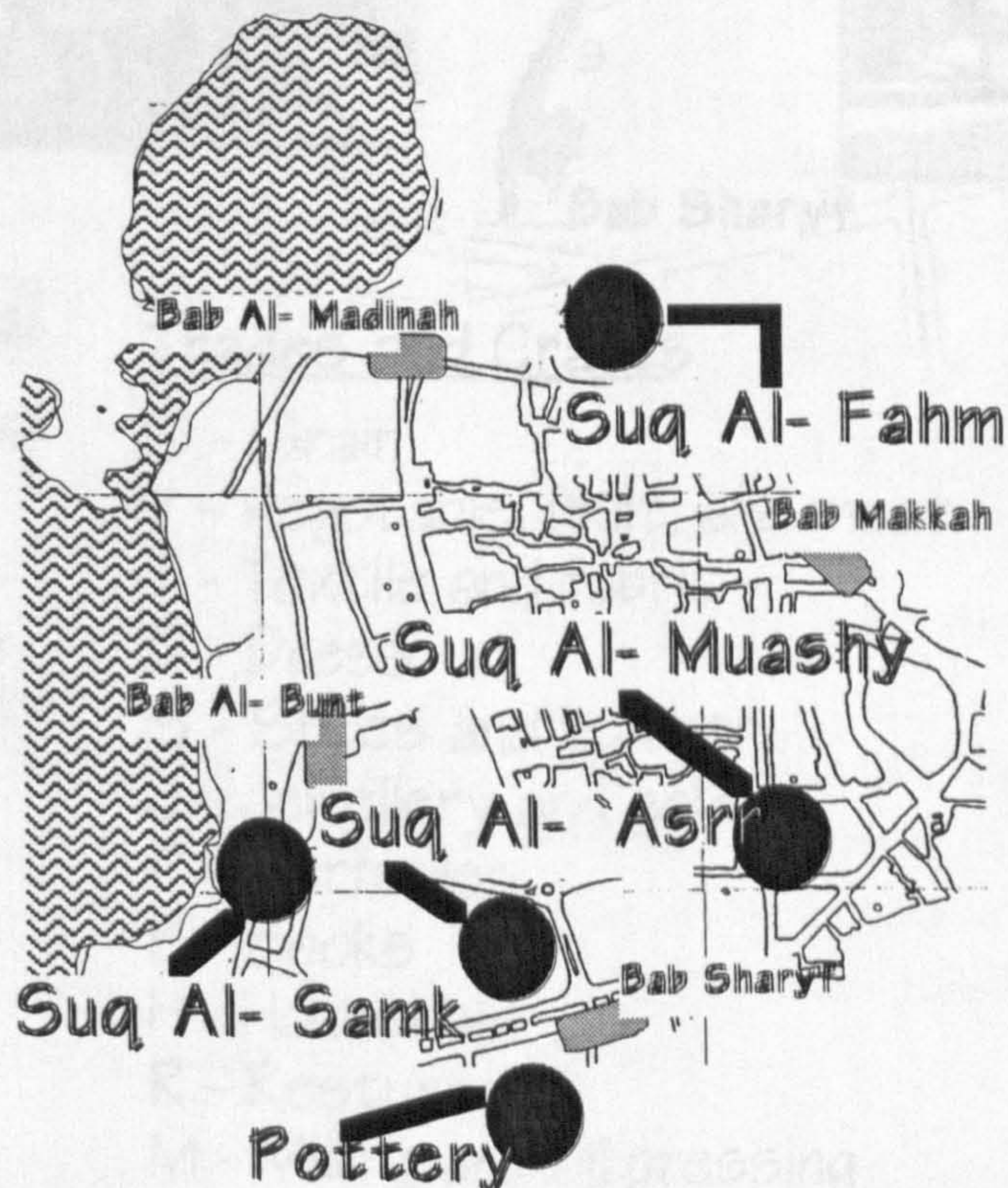
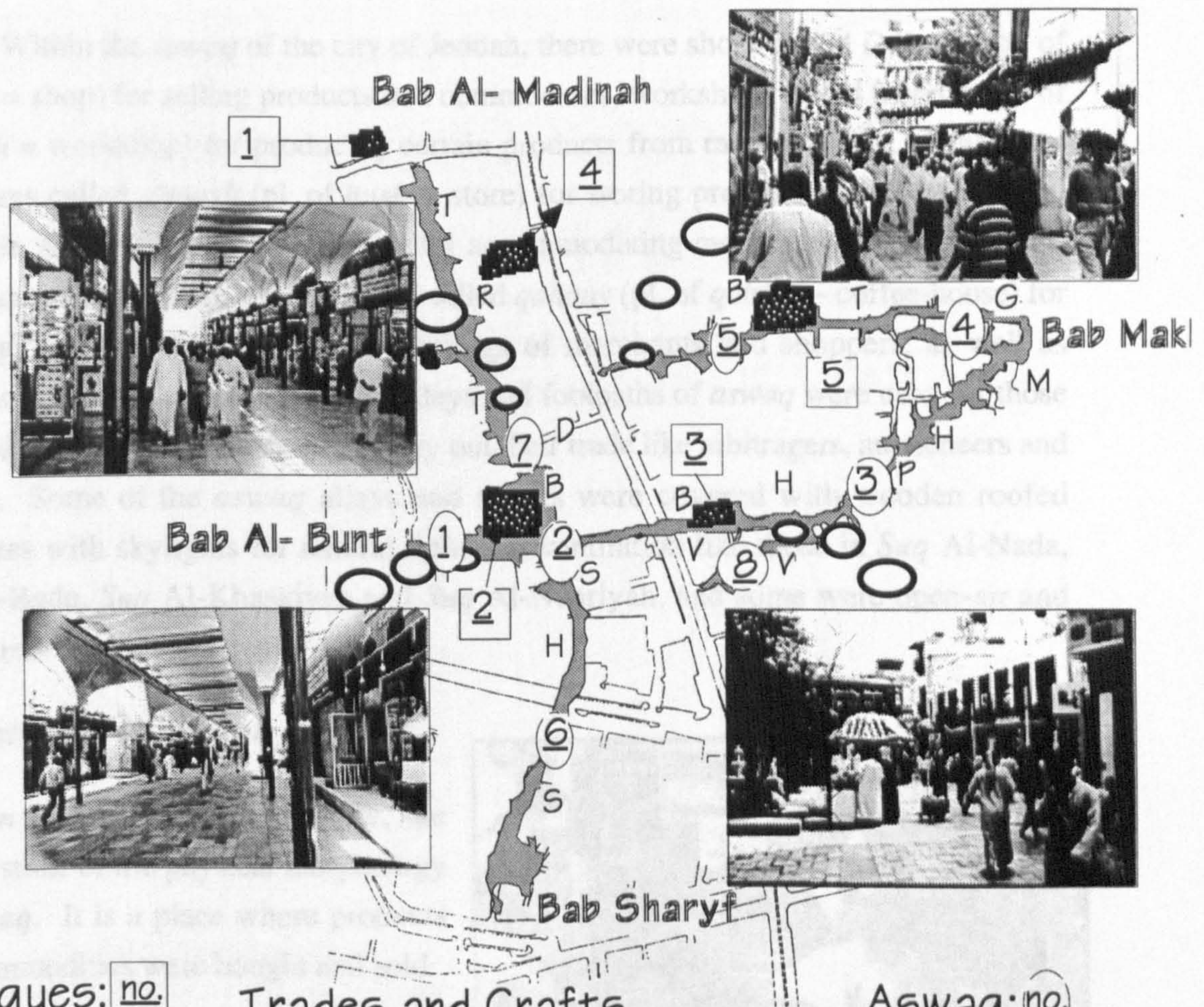


Fig. 6.20 *Aswaq* that causes offence to mosques and neighbours.



Mosques: no.

- 1- Al - Basha
- 2- 'Ukash
- 3- Mimar
- 4- Al- Hanfy
- 5- Al- Shaf'i

Trades and Crafts

- G - Grain
- V - Vegetable, fruit, and meat
- T - Textile and fabric
- D - Dress
- S - Shoes and leather
- J - Jewellery and gold
- P - Perfumes
- B - Books
- H - Household
- R - Resturant
- M - Milling and oil pressing

Aswaq: no.

- 1 - Al- HardJ
- 2 - Al- Bunt
- 3 - Al- Alawi
- 4 - Al- Badu
- 5 - Al- Jam'i
- 6 - Al- Khaskyiah
- 7 - Al- Nada
- 8 - Al- Nauriyah

Fig. 6.21 Aswaq layout

6.5 Aswaq Elements

Within the *aswaq* of the city of Jeddah, there were shops called *Dakakin* (pl. of *dakkan* = shop) for selling products and commodities, workshops called *warrish* (pl. of *wrishah* = workshop) for producing certain products from raw materials, warehouses and stores called *ahuash* (pl. of *hush* = store) for storing products and commodities, *khans* (in Arabic the plural is *khanat*) for accommodating merchants and storing their merchandise, and finally coffee-houses called *qahauy* (pl. of *qahuah* - coffee-house) for relaxing, socialising and business meetings of merchants and shoppers, as well as craftsmen and servicemen. Also the alleys and footpaths of *aswaq* were used for those who had no fixed place or shops to carry out their trade like arbitragers, auctioneers and porters. Some of the *aswaq* alleys and streets were covered with wooden roofed structures with skylights for natural light and ventilation like those in *Suq Al-Nada*, *Suq Al-Badu*, *Suq Al-Khaskiyah* and *Suq Al-Nuariyah*, and some were open-air and uncovered.

Dakakin (pl. of *dakkan* = shop)

Dakkan is considered, physically, the corner-stone of the physical morphology of *aswaq*. It is a place where products and commodities were bought and sold.

Inside the *dakkan*, products were displayed according to their type. Occasionally products were displayed along the internal walls of *dakkan*, on shelves, or hung from the roof and on the



Fig. 6.22 *Dakkan* product display

front floor space. The display of products depends on the nature of these products. In the spice section, for example, open sacks of cardamom, nutmeg, cinnamon, ginger, pepper and innumerable other herbs, roots, seeds and barks gave off a heavy aroma that permeated the walls and shared stall space with large brass plates full of almonds, pistachio and hazel nuts, melon kernels and pine seeds.

The second example was goldsmiths and silversmiths *dakakan*, glass cases displaying delicate filigree objects and graceful Bedouin-style bracelets, bangles, necklaces, earrings and belt buckles of silver coin.

The *dakakan* was occupied by its owner, and employed salesmen and workers,

with their numbers varied according to the size of trade and location. Most *dakakin* consisted of single raised cubicles of a few metres of floor space. Burckhardt described a *dakakan*, when he visited Jeddah in the 1830s:

"The shops (as in all parts of Turkey) are raised several feet above ground, and have before them, projecting into the street, a stone bench, on which purchasers seat themselves; this is sheltered from the sun by an awning usually made of mats fastened to high poles. Many of the shops are six or seven feet wide in front; the depth is generally from ten to twelve feet, with a small private room or magazine behind".

(cited in Pesce, 1977, p.219).

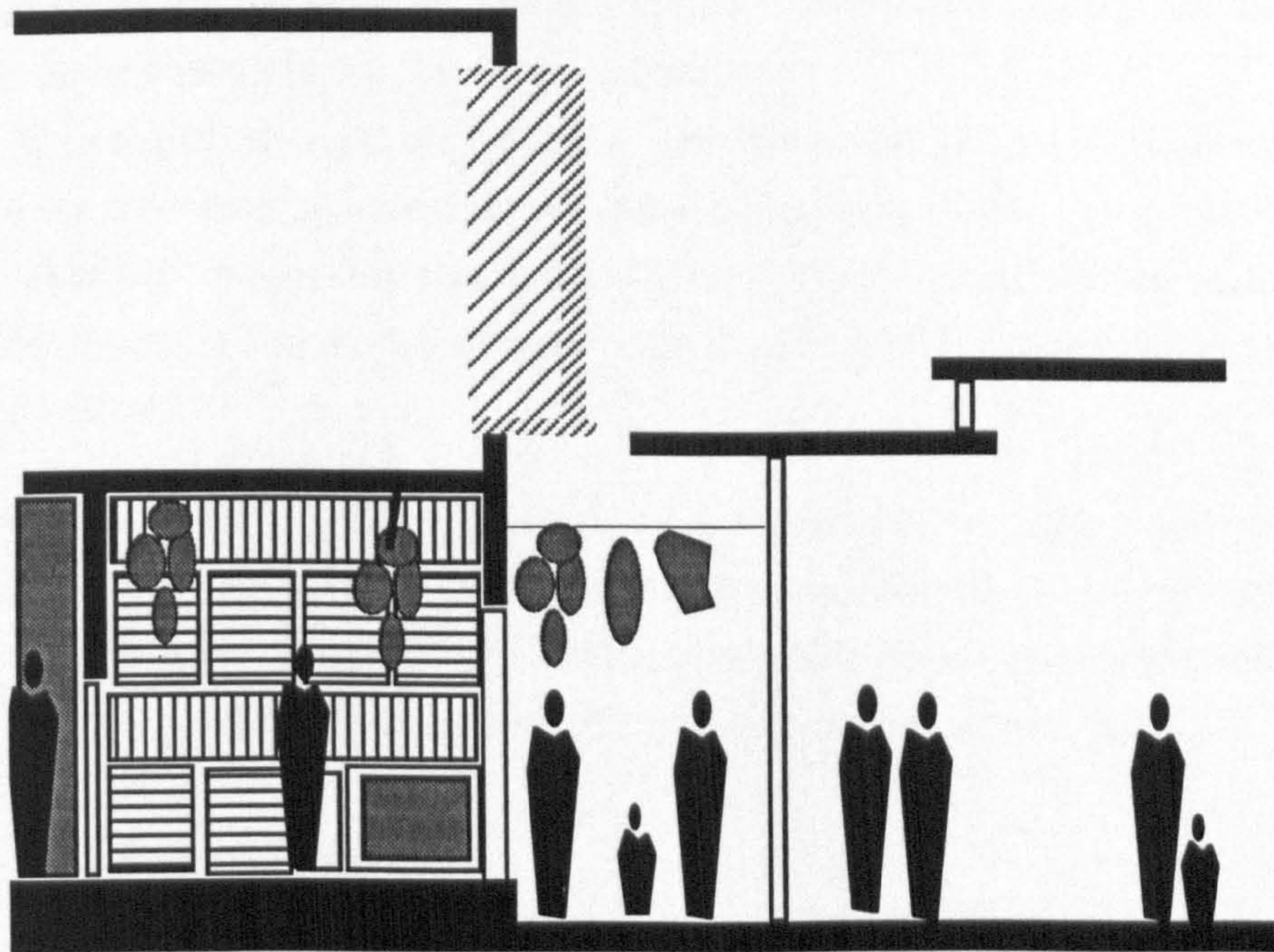


Fig. 6.23 Sketch diagram for a typical *dakkan*

Most *dakakin* were located side by side along the *aswaq* main streets, and alleys running from the main streets, like those in *Suq Al-Dhahb* (goldsmith market) where it was a branch of the main street of *Suq Al-Nada*

In other places, *dakakin* lined an enclosed space called *khan* which was located on the main *Suq*'s street, like those in *Suq Al-Qamashah* (fabric market), which was off *Suq Al-Nada*.. Finally *dakakin* lined the mosque's facade before the *Suq*, like those in front of the Ukash mosque, Al-Hanfy mosque, Al-Mimar mosque. These *dakakin* were rented for mosque endowment.

Warrish (n. pl. of *warrshah* = workshop)

Warrish were, like *dakakin*, the second element of *aswaq*. *Warrshah* was a manufacturing area where craft took place to produce finished products from raw materials, like carpentry, dress making, millers, and oil pressing.

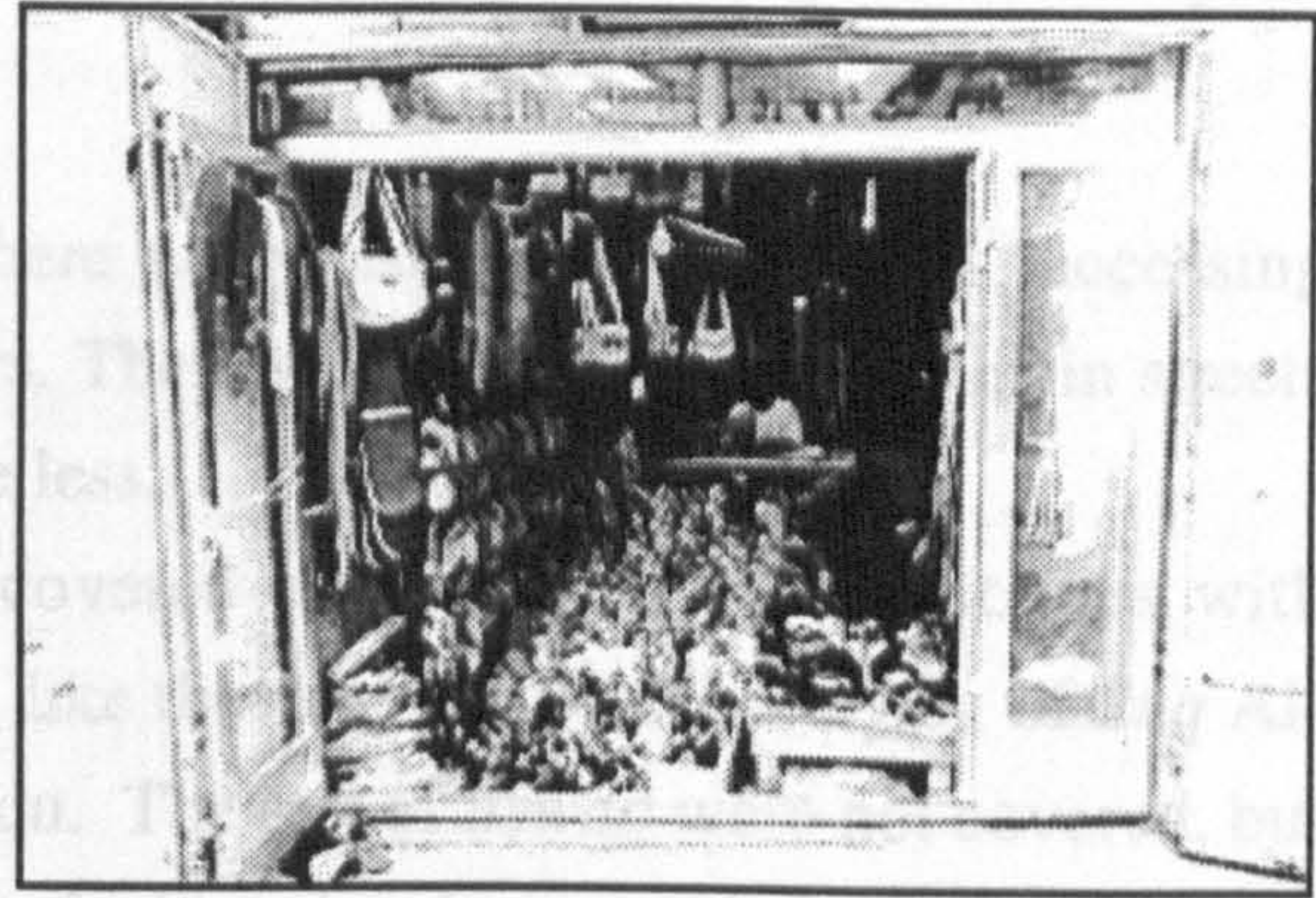


Fig. 6.25 Shoe making warrshah

Their location depended on the nature of the crafts themselves. Some crafts were considered very offensive to mosques and the public. They were kept outside the city like pottery, some of them were less offensive and were kept within the area of *aswaq* following the role of "no harm nor reciprocating harm", as we mentioned before.

Warrish of crafts kept within *aswaq* lined the alleys off the main *suq* street. For example, the dressmaking stores were located on an alley off the *Suq Al-Nada* Street, *Al-Tabakhin* and restaurants also lined alleys off *Suq Al-Nada*. Shoe makers were located on alleys off *Suq Al-Khaskiyah*, mills were located on an alley near to *Suq Al-Badu*, and so on.

People who occupied *Warrshah* were the owner, *mu'allam* and employees *mu'allam*, *sanayi* and *`amal*, as we saw in chapter four. *Warrshah* size varied from one craft to another according to its type and the production quantities, for example a dress making *warrshah* did not require as much space as a carpentry *warrshah*.

Streets and alleys

Dakakin and *warrish* were located on streets and alleys. Streets and alleys joined *dakakin* and *warrish* with each other, and each *suq* with each other. They widened and narrowed according to the trade process, product, type, means of transport and number of shoppers.

The methods of transportation were horses, mules, donkeys and animal-drawn vehicles (the first motor cars were introduced at the beginning of the 1920s) For *Khratin* Street, joined *Suq Al-Khaskiyah* on the south with *Suq Al-Bunt*, *Suq Al-Nada*, as far as *Al-Basha* mosque on the north. It was wide enough to carry goods and

people. Also, it joined *Suq* Al-Hardj on the west with *Suq* Al-Nuariyah, with *Suq* Al-Alawi and with *Suq* Al-Badu on the east.

Besides these two main streets there were many minor branches, accessing khans, warehouses and residential quarters. They were narrower than the main streets where the traffic of goods and people were less.

Most of the *aswaq* streets were covered with wooden roof structures with skylights for natural light and ventilation, like those of *Suq* Al-Khaskiyah, of *Suq* Al-Nada, of *Suq* Al-Nuariyah and *Suq* Al-Badu. The rest of *aswaq* were not covered, but dakakin were provided with canopies for shading the shoppers and merchants. T.E. Lawrence describes these streets:

"It was indeed a remarkable town. The streets were alleys, wood roofed in the main bazaar, but elsewhere open to the sky in the little gaps between the tops of the lofty white-walled houses"

(Lawrence, 1956, p.72).

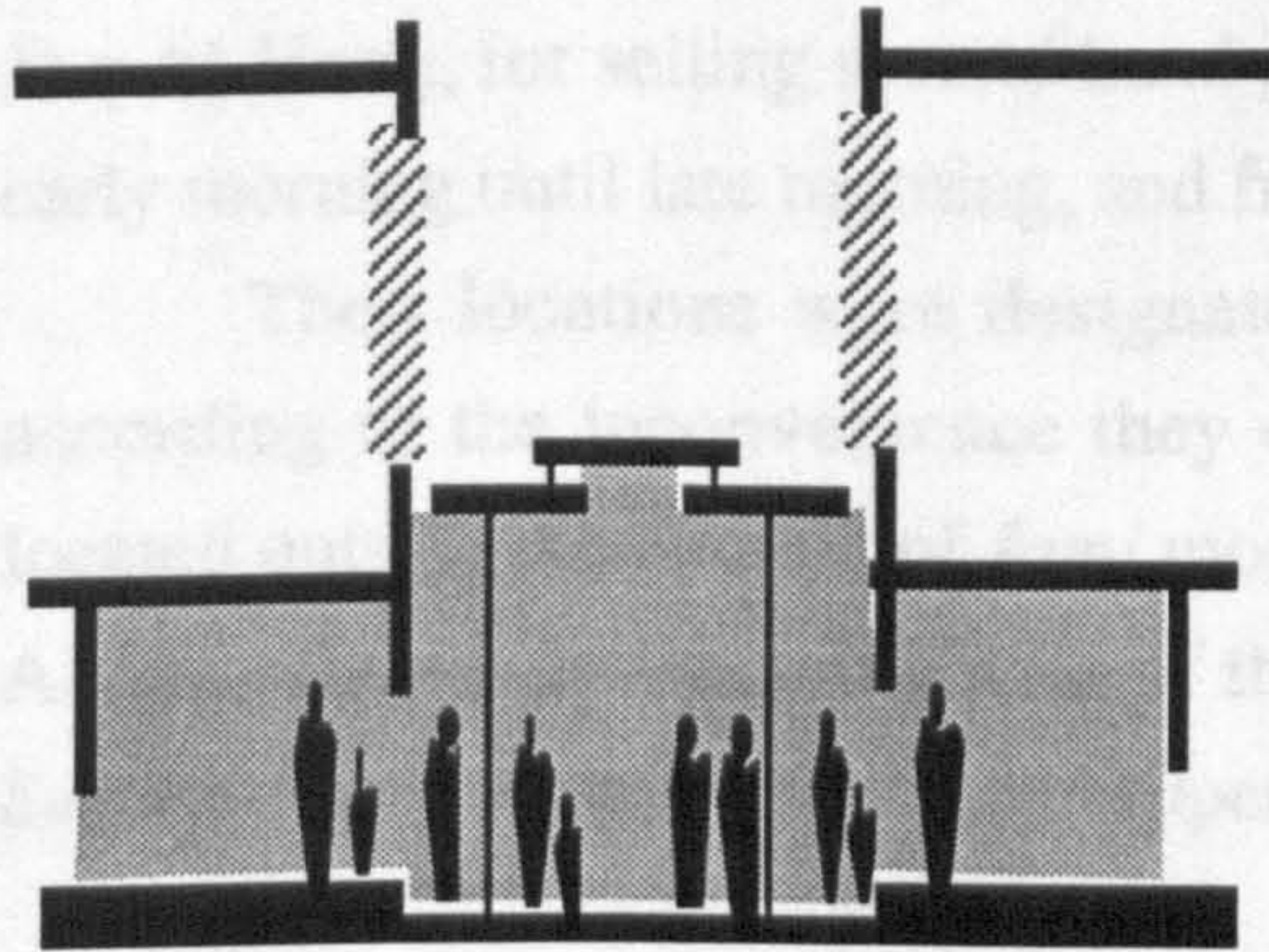


Fig. . 6.26 Covered streets and alleys of *aswaq*

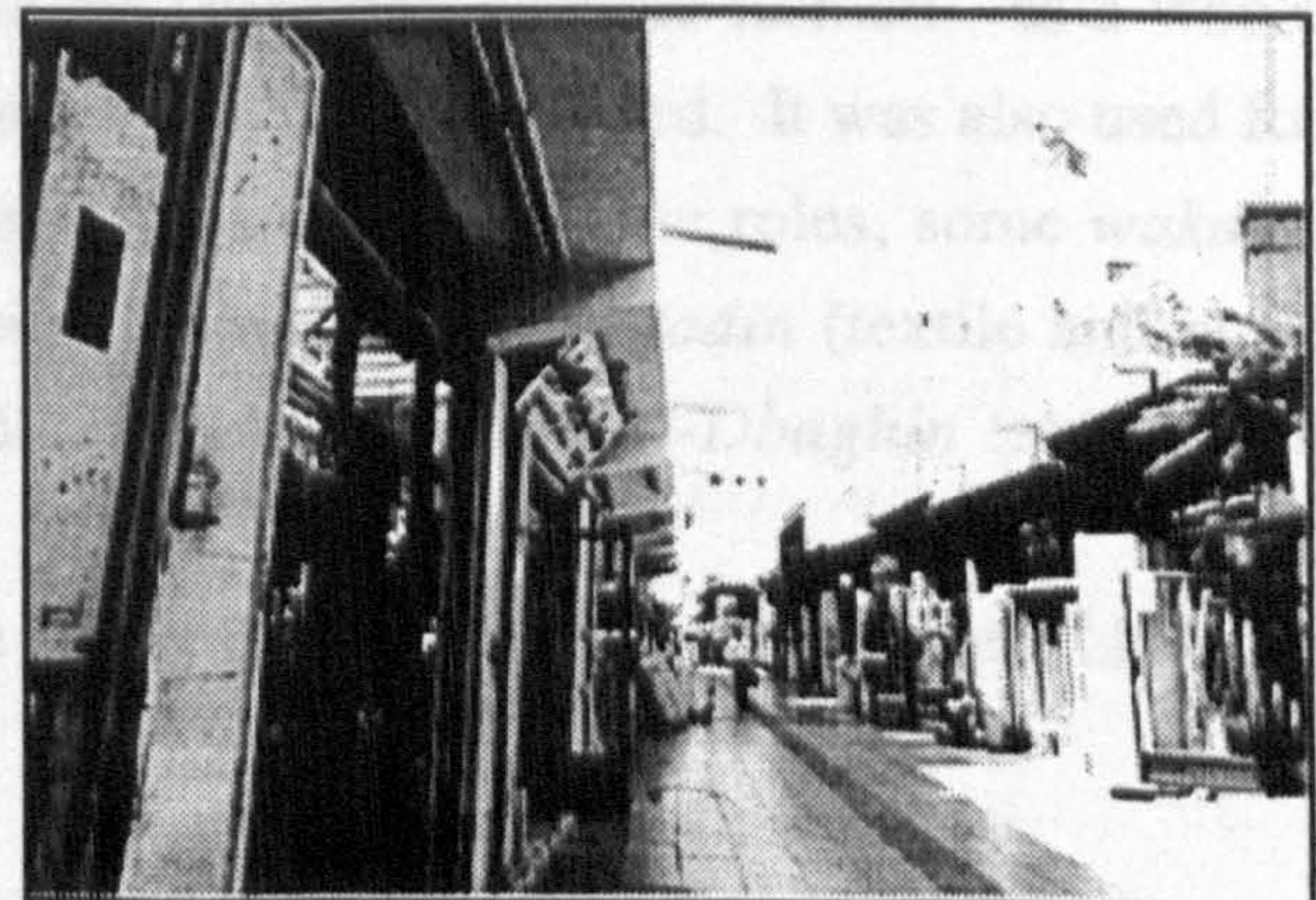
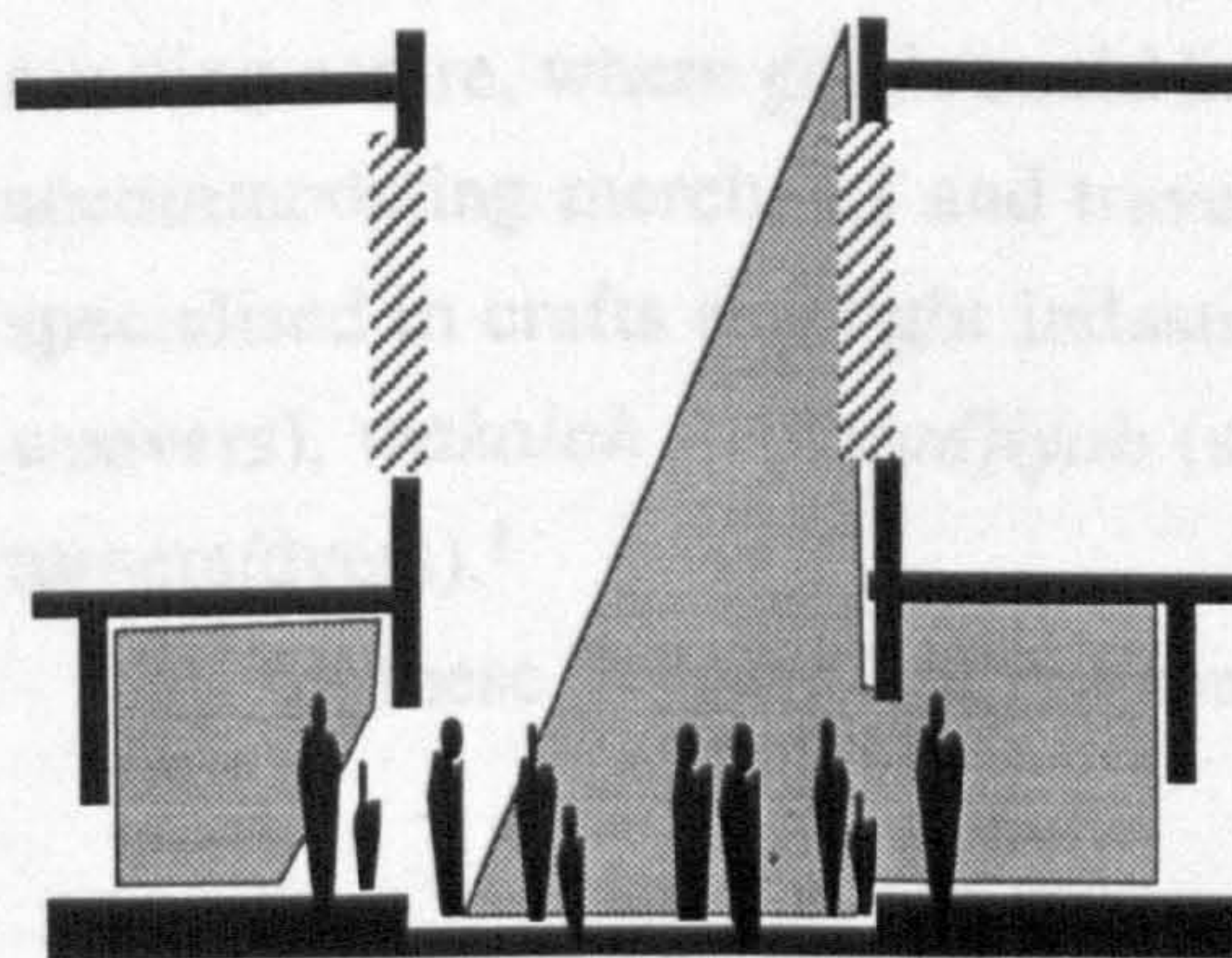


Fig. 6. 27 Uncovered streets and alleys of *aswaq*

Streets and alleys of *aswaq* were paved only with damp compact earth, frequently swept and sprinkled by *dakakin* and *warrish* owners to keep them clean and cool.

Furthermore, these streets and alleys were used for the advertisement of *aswaq* products. *Dakakin* and *warrish* displayed their products along the width of these streets by stretching material between the two sides of the street and hanging products to allow shoppers to see them overhead and not be an obstacle to the traffic. Also, along these streets were street vendors.

Open *aswaq*

Open *aswaq* took place either on open spaces, or on the streets. *Aswaq* located on open spaces were *Suq* Al-Muashy (livestock market), Al-Asrr (afternoon market) and Halaqt Al-Khathrah (wholesale vegetable market). Those located on streets were *Suq* Al-Hardj, for selling second hand goods. Trading times in these *aswaq* were from early morning until late morning, and from afternoon until sunset.

Their locations were designated by *muhtasib* and later by the municipality according to the inconvenience they caused, as we saw earlier. Usually they were located outside the context of *Jami* mosque and residential quarters. For example, *Suq* Al-Muashy was in the south west of the city, *Suq* Al-Samk was near to the sea shore, *Suq* Al-Asrr was near *Bab* sharyf. Open *aswaq* were, physically, open spaces.

Khanat (n. pl. of *Khan* ; *Wakalat* [n. pl. of *Wakalah*], = Caravanserai).

Khan or wakalah was used as in the traditional Islamic fashion - as a whole retailing centre, where goods could be stored, sold or distributed. It was also used for accommodating merchants and travellers. In addition to these roles, some *wakalat* specialised in crafts and light industries, like *wakalah* Al-Aqadin (textile and braid weavers), *wakalah* Al-Surudjiyah (saddlers) and *Wakalah* Al-Dbaghin (sheep-skin turners/dyers).¹

All these *wakalat* took the same shape and each had a secured gate which was

¹Hassan Abu Al-Hamail, *Mukhtisar Tarykh Jeddah, Abbreviation of Jeddah History*, 1976, Jeddah, p.71.

closed at night. This gate usually led to a courtyard surrounded by *dakakin* or shops, and *mukhazn* (pl. of *mukhazn*= warehouse). At the top of these *dakakin* and *mukhazn*, were two storeys of *ga'aat* (pl. of *ga'ah* = hall) for accommodation. Burckhardt, who visited Jeddah in the 1830s referred to the existence of such *wakalat*:

"There are some well-built public khans in the town, with good accommodation, where the foreign merchants reside during their short stay here. In these khans are large open squares with arched passages, which afford a cool shade to merchants for the greater part of the day".

(cited in Pesce, 1977, p.215).

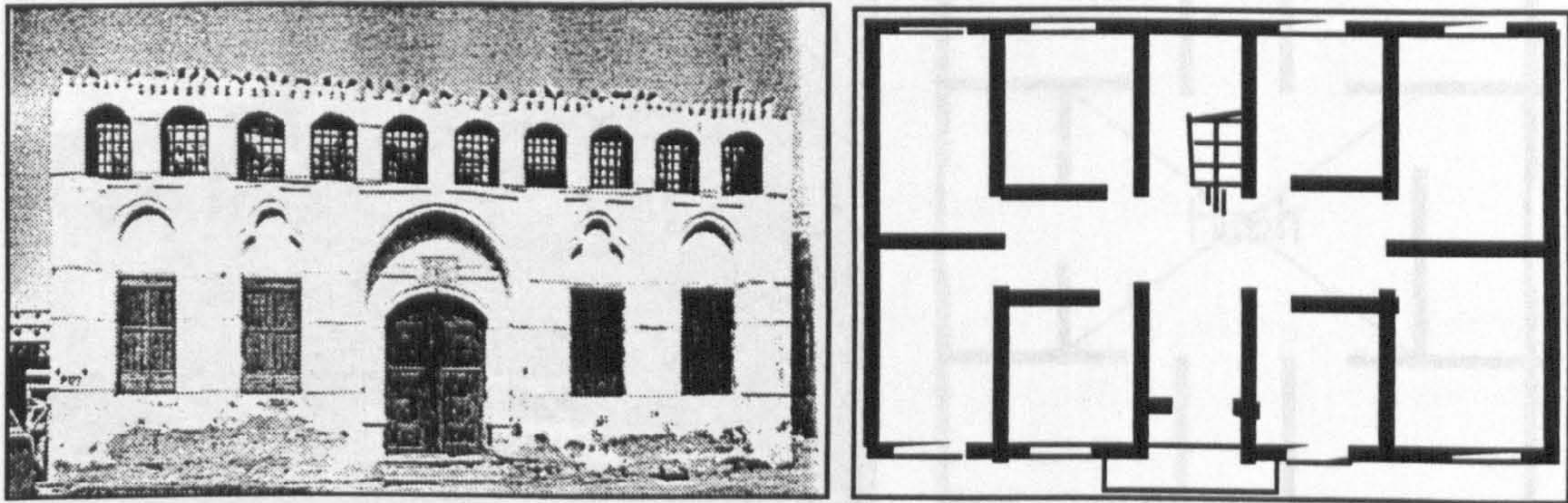


Fig. 6.28 Khan in Jeddah.

Ahuash (n. pl. of *hush* = warehouse):

From the description of the trade process in the examples in chapter four, we found *ahuash* were one element of *aswaq*. *Hush* was an important element, where all products and goods could not be displayed in *dakakin*. It was found in the import, wholesale and retail trade process. For example, in the import trade process, there were *ahuash* nearby *Al-Buyut Al-Tidjaryah* and commercial agencies that were situated along the sea port.

For wholesaling *ahuash* were scattered according to the wholesale *dakakin*. Locations like grain wholesalers were located nearby *suq* Al-Badu, *Suq* Al-Alawi and *Suq* Al-Nada. This was to speed up the receipt of products to the retailers. The retail trade, *ahuash* was located near their *dakakin* on the back streets of the main *suq* street. Not only there, but also within buildings in which the *dakakin* was located. Most ground floors of these buildings located on two sides of *aswaq* streets were owned or rented by *aswaq* merchants and were used as storage (Al-Mughraby, 1982, p.71).

Hush consisted of an open space surrounded by rooms or shaded areas, used for storing goods and products. Shaded areas and rooms were used to protect goods from sunlight and rain. It was guarded by *hirras* (pl. of *haras* = keeper) and clerks to register in and out products or goods according to the *fisah* (permission) that buyers should present to the *hirras*. Also there were *hamal* (pl. of *hamal* = porter) to load and unload in and out products and goods. No products or goods came out from *hush* without *fisah* as we mentioned in chapter four. A. Al-Ansari referring to Abu Al-Hamayl, states that there were more than one hundred *ahuash* in Jeddah *aswaq* (Al-Ansari, 1982, p.584).

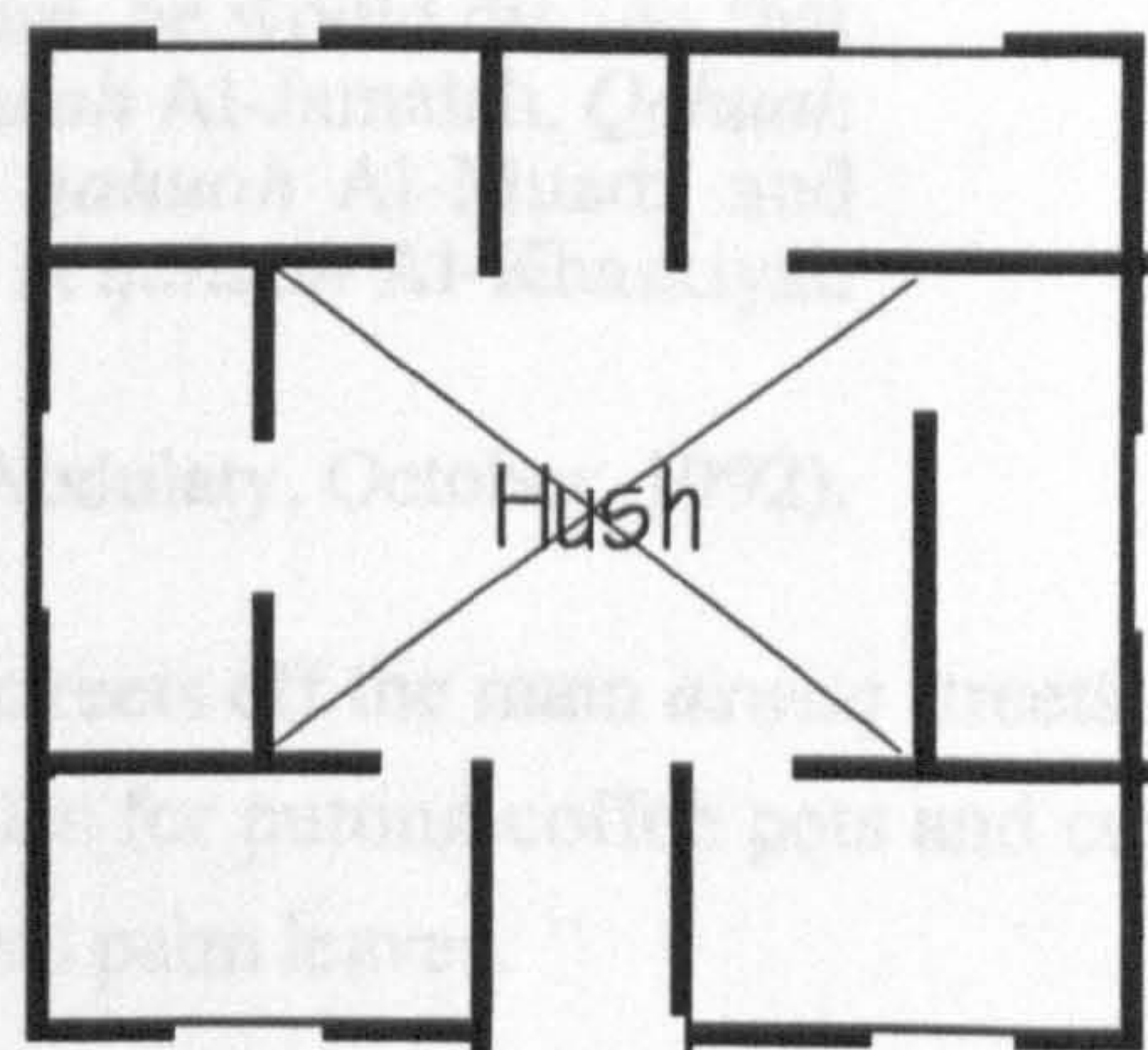


Fig. 6.29 *Hush*

Qahauiy (n.pl. of *qahuah* = coffee house)

Qahuah was a place which gained its name from *qahuah* - drink (coffee), where *suq* participants could drink coffee. However, drinking *qahuah* was considered as a custom among Arab people and as a kind of social gathering activity. Burckhardt asserts, when he visited Jeddah:

"There are twenty seven coffee-shops. Coffee is drunk to excess in Hedjaz, it is not uncommon for persons to drink 20 to 30 cups in one day, and the poorest labourer never takes less than three to four cups."

(cited in Pesce, 1977, p.220).

Qahauiy were important elements of *aswaq*. They were considered as a resting place for merchants, *hirrafyn* (craftsmen), servicemen (*dalalyn*, *hamal* and *wazanah*) and shoppers. *Shaykh* Bagys said of grain merchants in *Suq* Al-Badu:

"We go to *qahuah* *Bayshin* when *Suq* gets *fatrr* (*fatrr* lit means cold. It is an expression used by merchants, when the purchasing power in the *suq* was less than normal or when there was not any purchase.)"

(Bagys, October 1992).

Also *qahuah* was considered as a place that all matters of trade were discussed among the merchants, *suq* situations, demands and supplies of goods and their personal circumstances, as well as news and information.

The same thing for *hirrafyn* applied. Each *hirrfah* (craft) had a coffee house where its members could meet, to discuss their *hirrfah's* matters. Also, many new contracts could be concluded in these *qahauiy*. Mu'allam Abdulaty (builder-master) said:

"occasionally, we met at *qahauiy*. Each *hirrfah* had *qahuah* to meet at, and discuss their *hirrfah* matters, like *Nadjaryn* (carpenters), *dalalyn* (auctioneers) etc. For example, if *mu'allam* (master) wants to build a house, he would discuss that with other *mu'allamyn* (masters) at *qahuah* Al-Jamalah, *Qahuah* Abu Mansur, *qahuah* Al-Khaskiyah, *qahuah* Al-Muady and *qahuah* Khabyny. I myself always sat at *qahuah* Al-Khaskiyah in Friday afternoon".

(Mullam Abdulaty, October. 1992).

Qahuah was located on one of the branch streets off the main *aswaq* streets. It was a shaded place, had chairs for sitting and tables for putting coffee pots and cups. Chairs and tables were made locally out of wood and palm leaves.

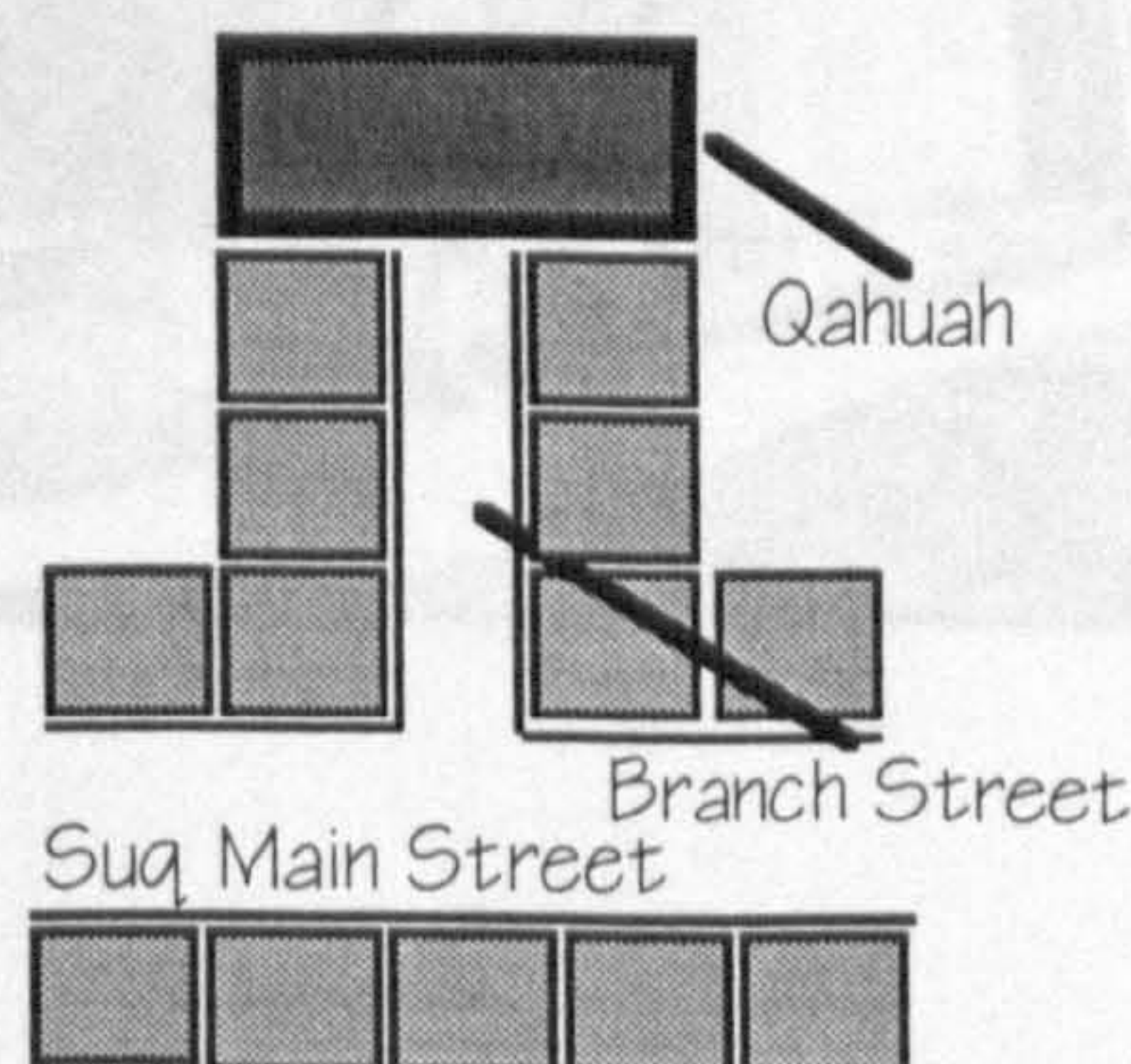


Fig. 6.30 *Qahuah* (coffeeshop/ inn)

Restaurants

Restaurants provided meals for tradesmen and shoppers, when commercial activities took place in the day time. So, they were additional elements in *aswaq*. As *aswaq* participants were culturally mixed, restaurants had a wide range of meals, like Indian, Turkish, East Asian and Arabic. They were grouped in one lane off the main street of *Suq Al-Nada*. A restaurant consisted of two parts: one for preparing food and the second one for serving where many chairs and tables were placed for customers.

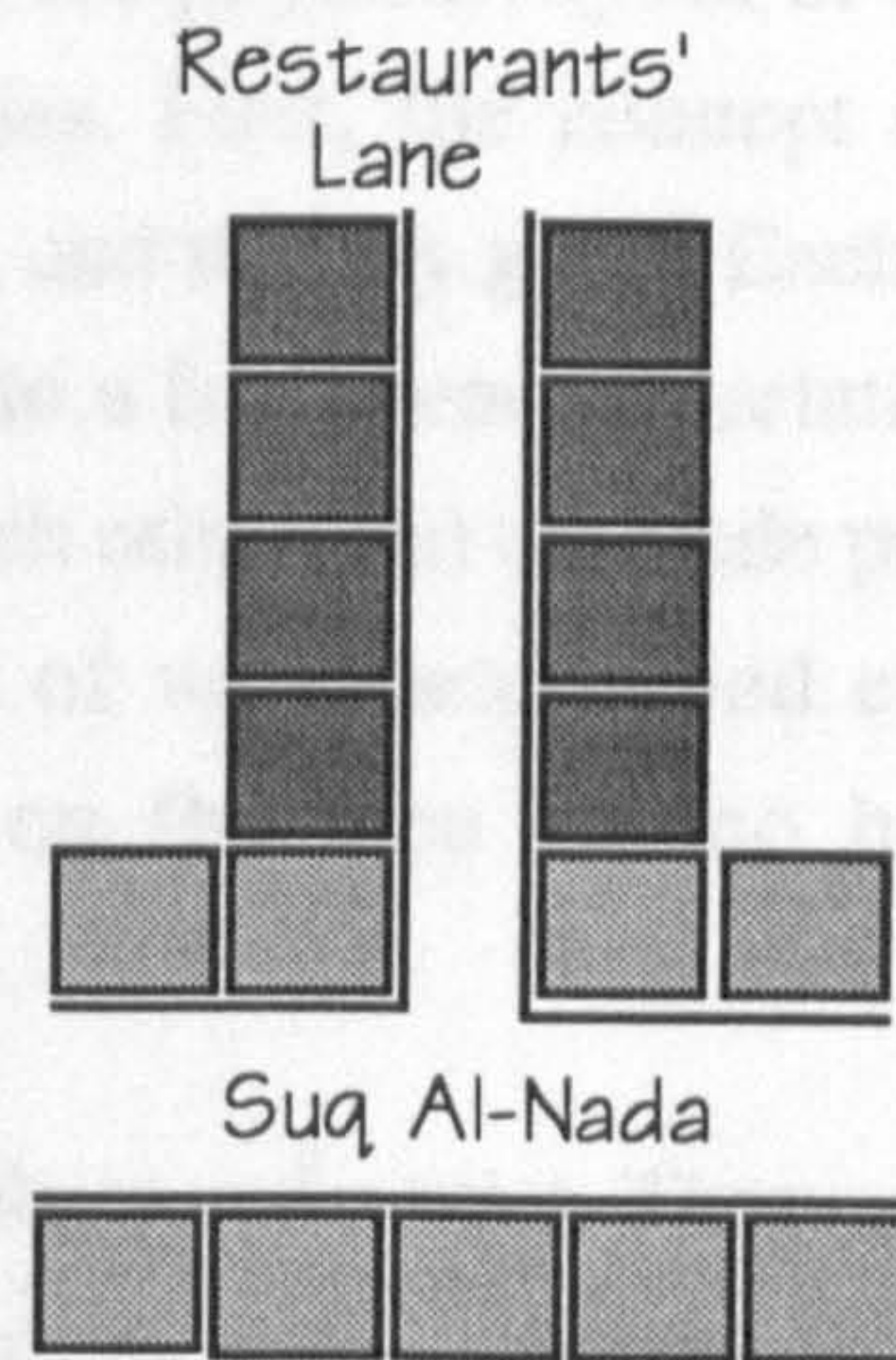


Fig. 6.30 Restaurant's lane.

Conclusion

Three concepts played a very important role in the physical layout of *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah, like other traditional Islamic cities. First, the concept of urban magnetic elements; *jami* mosque, port and trade routes, and the city gates. Each of these elements attracted to its area certain trades according to a framework of relationships. Second, the concept of dependence of each trade on each other, and the trade process of each type of product and goods. Third, the concept of what determined effects of various trades on the mosque and public, based on the idea of "no harm nor reciprocating harm".

These concepts were based on socio-cultural values and norms. They confirmed the lifestyle of Saudi society. Thus, book-sellers, perfumes, jewellery, and so on, were located in certain lanes known by these names. Guilds and supervisory groups were, also, organised to control quality and prevent disputes. They interacted according to a set of relationships confirming the unity of the society. This was reflected on the physical layout of the traditional *aswaq* elements; *dakakin*, *warrish*, *khanat*, streets, alleys, and *qahauiy*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER SEVEN :

FINAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis has been aimed at gaining a better understanding of the role of the traditional *aswaq* in Saudi Arabian society. This was achieved by literature review, interviewing heads of the guilds of the different trades and crafts, observing the physical traces and observing the environmental behaviour of the traditional *aswaq* , to expose socio-cultural aspects of them which emphasises the physical layout.

The study concentrated on the traditional *aswaq* in the city of Jeddah as a case study. The investigations went into the details of social, cultural and economical aspects and their combination to show how they formed the physical layout of *aswaq*. It focused on the perspective of those who built and used the traditional *aswaq* , in order to have a better understanding of their physical layout.

The main goal of this detailed study of *aswaq* is to gain a complete idea of what is behind the physical layout of *aswaq*, and how to understand them. The clarification of each aspect of the *aswaq* and their relation to each other provides a background for *aswaq* in traditional Islamic cities, both traditional and contemporary. This will support the main arguments of this research, that the traditional *aswaq* served as a functional and social gathering place which was a reflection of and gained from the tradition itself, a set of socio-cultural values and norms.

7.1 The Persistence of the Traditional *Aswaq*:

Most of the traditional *aswaq* have preserved their historical locations, as we saw in Chapter Six, like *Suq Al-Nada*, *Suq Al-Kabyr*, *Suq Al-Badu*, *Suq Al-Nuaryiah*, *Suq Al-Alawi*, *Suq Al-Khaskiyah* and *Suq Qabil*. They are still functioning as the commercial hub of contemporary Jeddah, as in the traditional Jeddah where all commercial areas were centrally located. The specialised lanes of trade and crafts still exist with modifications due to urbanisation needs and the new way of life, such as social transformation. Some of the old crafts and trades have been transferred to other areas, at the edges of the city, as proposed in the master plan of the city. For example,

Suq Al-Nuaryiah which is located to the south-west of Nasyf House, *Suq* Al-Samk which is located to the south of the new harbour and *Suq* Al-Hardj which has been moved to the south-east of the city (fig. 7.1). Some of them are replaced by mixed-use complexes, such as Al-Mahmal Centre and high-rise office blocks like The National Bank Building.

The traditionally operating *aswaq* sell all kinds of goods, both imported and locally made, modern and traditional. For example, in *Suq* Al-Nada there are all kinds of foodstuff, books and stationary, shoe-makers and leather shops, and many restaurants providing a wide range of meals. *Suq* Al-Kabyr and *Suq* Al-Khaskiyah provide household goods, grain, tinned food and electrical and camera sets. Also, within these two *aswaq* are *Suq* Al-Qmashah (cloth market) and *Suq* Al-Dhahb (gold and jewellery markets). In the *Suq* Al-Badu, there are fabrics of all kinds, gowns, veils, spices, grain for human and animal consumption including wheat and barley, milk, sugar, tea, rice and lentils. *Suq* Qabel provides watches, nuts, shoes, bags and electrical sets. In *Suq* Al-Alawi there are dresses, food, spices and grain.

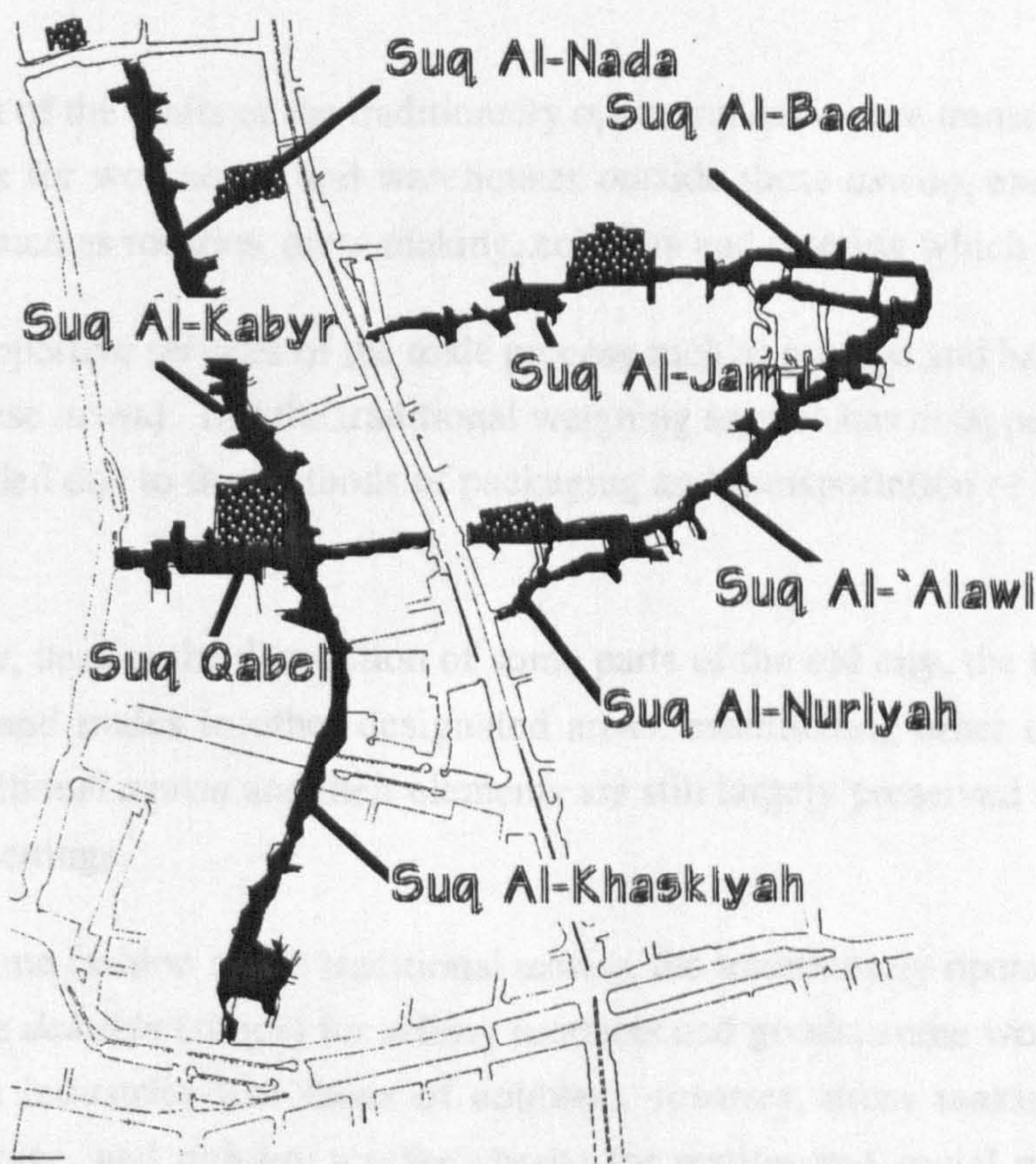


Fig. 7.1 Traditionally operating *aswaq*.

However, the urban economic life of the traditional city has changed as a result of urban transformation. Many new suburbs have developed and are planned along the north-south axis. So, not only the traditional *aswaq* is considered as a centre of commercial activity for the contemporary city, but also many shopping centres which have emerged along this axis. In addition, many other streets have been transformed to commercial centres.

Nevertheless, within the traditionally operating *aswaq*, the relationship of *Suq* - Mosque has not been effected by the transformation process. Mosques in these *aswaq* are still attracting the less harmful trades to their proximity such as book shops, stationary shops and perfume shops as we saw in Chapter Six.

Also, these *aswaq* follow the concept of dependence of similar trades on each other. Even for new imported products such as cameras, electrical equipment and car accessories, are congregated in lanes. For example, tape-recorder, TV and video sets occupied one lane in *Suq* Al-Kabyr, while cameras and their accessories occupied another lane at the ground floor of the Queen Building which is located on the *Suq* Al-Kabyr.

But most of the crafts of the traditionally operating *aswaq* are transferred to the designated areas for workshops and warehouses outside these *aswaq*, except for the light industries such as rosaries, dress making, cobblers and catering which remain.

Also, supportive services of the trade process such as portage and brokerage are found within these *aswaq*. But the traditional weighing service has disappeared and is no longer provided due to the methods of packaging and transportation of the modern retailing system.

However, despite the demolition of some parts of the old city, the transferring of some crafts and trades to other designated areas, establishing other commercial centres, the traditional *aswaq* and their elements are still largely preserved within their physical urban settings.

In the same fashion of the traditional *aswaq*, the traditionally operating *aswaq* continue to have *dakakin* (shops) for selling products and goods, some workshops for producing light industries like those of cobblers, rosaries, dress making, *ahuash* (stores) for storage, and *qahauny* (coffee shops) for resting and social gathering of merchants, shoppers, and craftsmen. But the Khans of the traditional *aswaq* are now transformed into *waqf* (endowment accommodation used for poor people) and its

traditional function, merchants' accommodation is replaced by hotels. So, there are many hotels attached to the *aswaq* area to provide accommodation for traders and businessmen.

The streets and alleys of these *aswaq* are still used by arbitragers, auctioneers and porters. Some of these streets are covered with fibre-glass roofs or with wooden roofs like those of *Suq Al-Nada*, *Suq Al-Kabyr*, *Suq Al-Khaskyiah* and *Suq Al-Nuariyah*, and some are still left uncovered (fig. 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8).



Fig. 7. 2 *Suq Al- Badu*



Fig 7.3 *Suq Al- Nada*

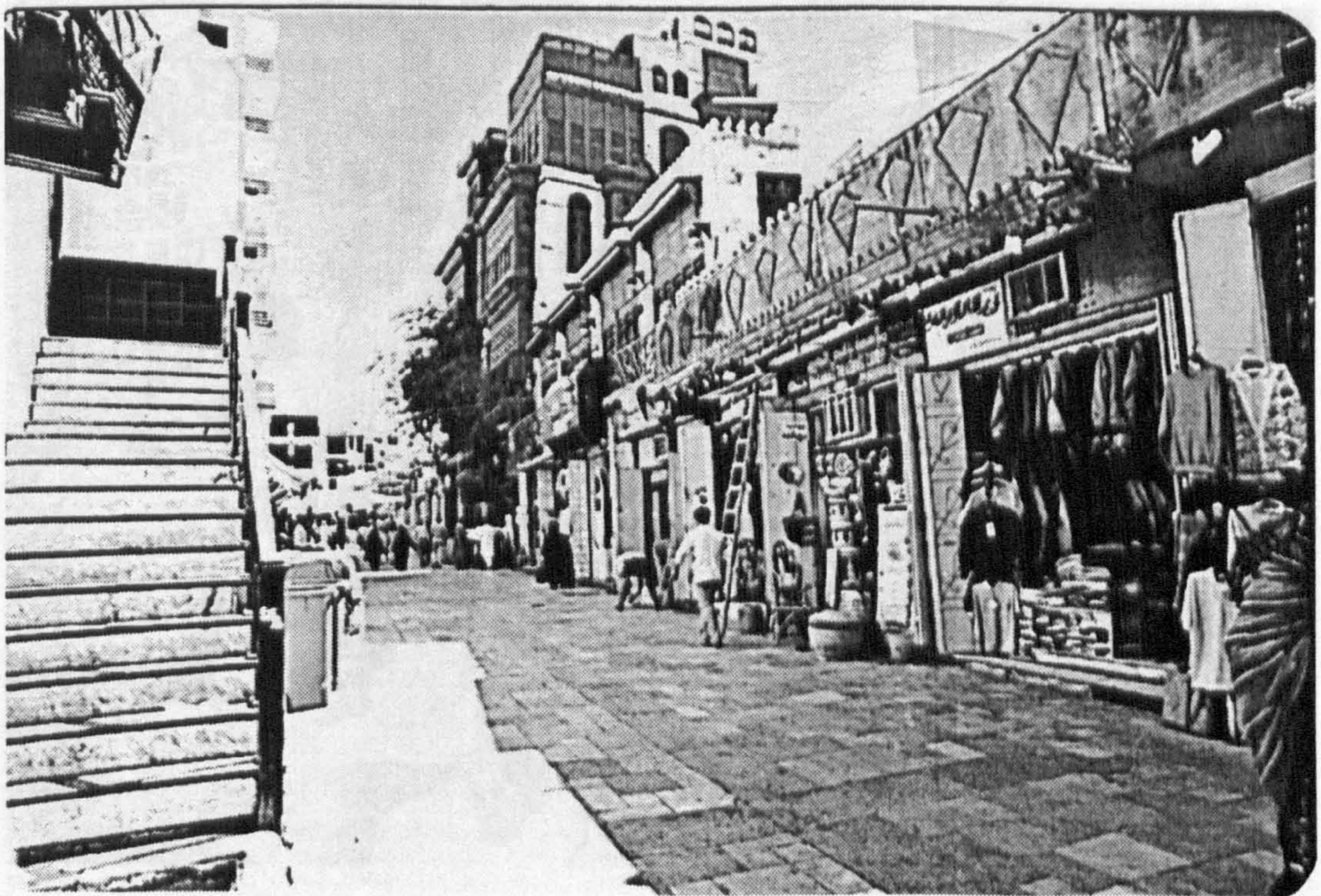


Fig. 7. 4 *Suq Al- Jam`i*



Fig. 7. 5 *Suq Al- Alawi*

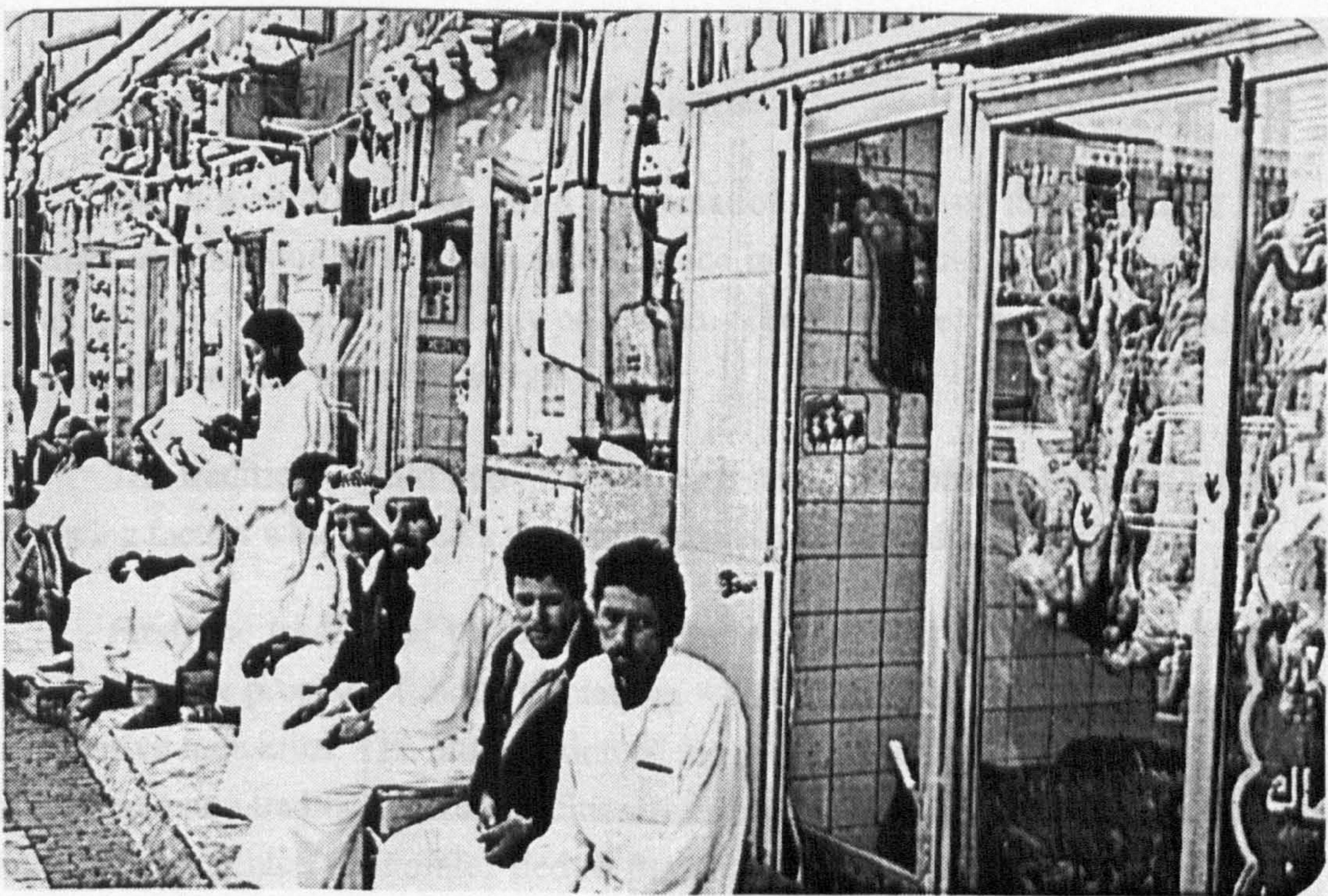


Fig. 7. 6 *Suq Al- Nuriyah*



Fig. 7. 7 *Suq Al- Khaskiyah*



Fig. 7. 8 *Suq Qabel*

8.1 Reasons for Disintegration of Guilds:

The dissolution of the guild organisation was one of the results of the changes and transformations which took place in the retailing pattern, social and urban aspects of the traditional city of Jeddah. These changes severely altered the traditional economic and administrative order.

The traditional guild organisations in Jeddah have been influenced by the following factors which played a very important role in their disintegration:

First, the traditional trade process, as we saw in chapter Four, has been replaced by the process of modern retailing which is based on manufacturing and distributive industries. The introduction of the modern retailing system to Jeddah, as well as many traditional Islamic cities, transformed the traditional trade process into import-oriented economies tied to the industrial economics of the industrial countries (Costello, 1977, p.145).

So, Jeddah became an outlet for mass-produced, imported manufactured goods, as a result of increased wealth whereby the process of importing is expanded to embrace a wide range of goods from different parts of the world.

This reduced the number of produce-retailers and local craftsmen, and was accompanied by an increase in the number of wholesale and import traders. A field survey done by the Research Centre of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the City of Jeddah in 1988, pointed out that the percentage of the number of merchants who practised trade for the last five years was 37%, while 43% was for the number of merchants who practised trade for the last ten years (The Research Centre of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1988, pp 35-50).

Another change which took place in the traditional retailing pattern was a transformation in the purchasing system from cash sale to credit sale which was extended by banks and exporters. Credit facilities are based on the modern banking system: interest replaced the traditional codes of the commercial transactions which were religious-based codes of ethics, to which merchants could refer, with world-business and economic rules and ethics (Nasyf, October 1992).

Consequently, changes in the values of commercial life from an Islamic framework to secular-business values lost the guild organisation much of their influence in the retailing pattern as we saw in Chapter Three and Four.

The influx of imported Western manufactured goods into the traditional *aswaq* which are competitive in price and quality, and therefore, put most craftsmen out of work and led to their disappearance. Thus, the traditional forms of production are giving way to modern technology.

Second, modern retailing involves a vast range of activities; manufacture, storage and distribution of an enormous variety of goods before they reach the retailer/customer. The trade activities of the traditional *aswaq* have been influenced by changes occurring in the modern distribution and transportation system, within which the traditional *aswaq* operated. This change has not affected the traditional *aswaq* only, but also the traditional trade routes. For example, the land trade-route along the eastern seashore of the Red Sea has declined. Similar results accompanied by the acceleration of the urbanisation of the traditional city, increase the population of the city. Population from the countryside moved to the manufacturing centres, accompanied by overall growth in the population as a whole. This has created mass

markets and dependence of those markets upon retail outlets for all goods and services. This increased the growth of modern retailing. The means of transportation, the motor vehicle, has also encouraged the process of urbanisation and with the development of suburban networks, increased the size and mobility of the urban population.

Third, the introduction of a modern educational system, and technology which is based on the Western education model, affected the traditional techniques of teaching among guilds who are very conservative and are opposed to advanced technology and new methods of production. The direct applications of technology to manufacturing, and a growing number of inventions deeply affected the forms of the traditional production and the markets they served. These were

based on a theoretical and scientific basis; like Pasteur's work in the 1860s which established the canning and bottling industry, leading to refrigeration, and so on.

Fourth, the replacement of the traditional supervision organisation (governmental), *muhtasib*, by modern municipal entities, weakened the power of the traditional authorities and devastated crafts and trades. For example, the authority of the *shaykh* of any guild was undermined when he lost his power over those who opened a shop in the *suq*.

Finally, there was an attempt by some merchants to organise professional groups and producers into an organisation similar to a "guild", to be recognised by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in order to cope with the modern economy.

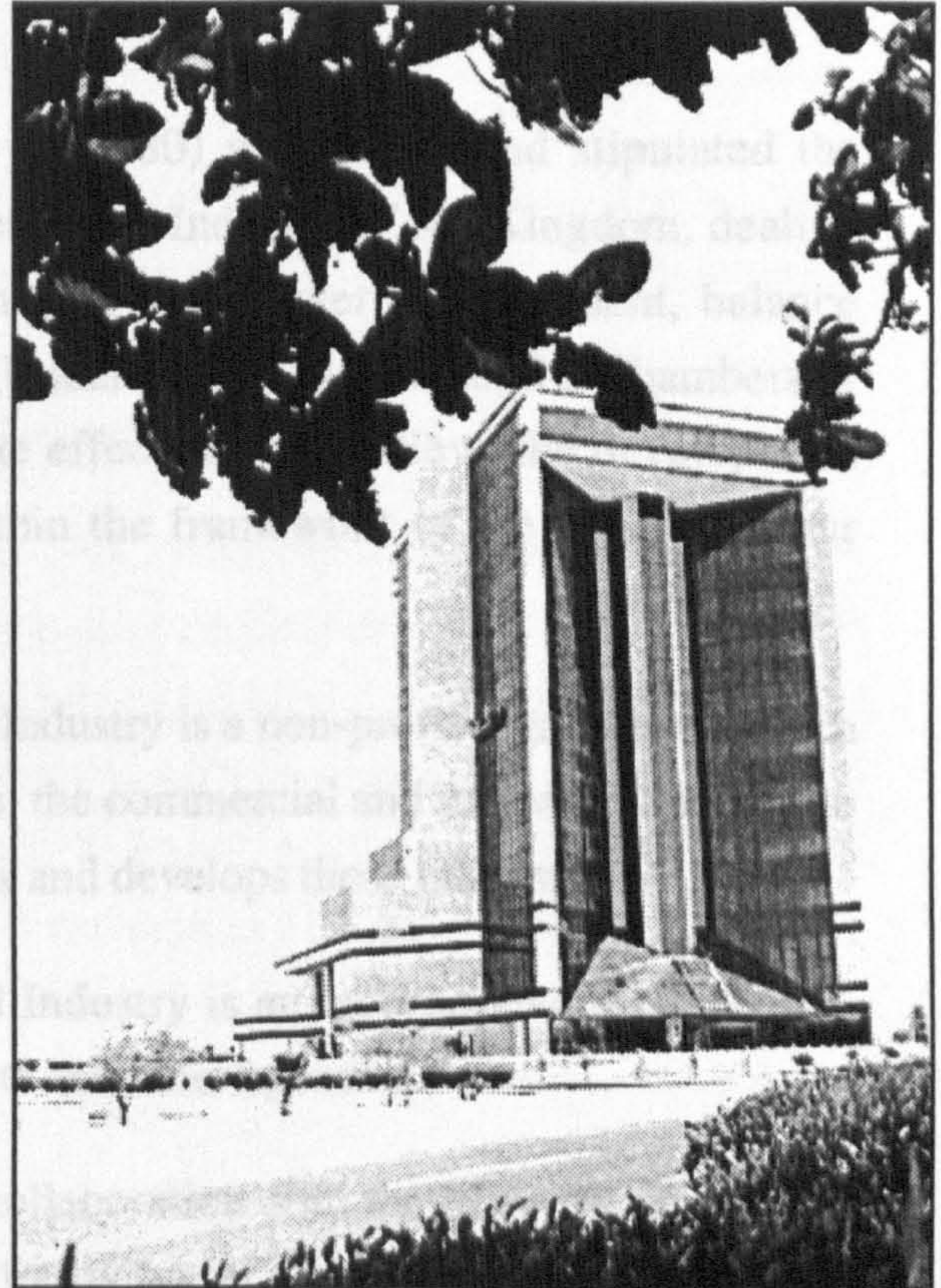


Fig. 7.9 The Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Jeddah

The idea of forming a Chamber of Commerce was first raised by some merchants after the Second World War, to cope with the commercial and industrial growth in Saudi Arabia. Its first constitution and regulations were issued on 18th January 1946.

In 1980, a Royal Decree (M/6 of 1980) was issued and stipulated the regulations of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Kingdom, dealing with the general structure of the chambers, their power, management, balance sheet, rules and the chambers' council. Under the Royal Decree, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry may participate effectively to achieve the development plans in Saudi Arabia, and operate within the framework of the following four principles:

- 1) The Chamber of Commerce and Industry is a non-profit organisation which represents, within its competence, the commercial and industrial interests to public authorities. It also defends and develops these interests.
- 2) The Chamber of Commerce and Industry is an incorporated organisation. Its Chairman represents it at courts and other agencies.
- 3) The Ministry of Commerce, in collaboration with the Ministry of Industry and Electricity, shall decree the formation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. This decree shall specify location and competence. Its minimum number of members is thirty persons, naturally or artificially, who are dealing in commerce or industry and enrolled in the commercial registration. The chamber shall have sub offices within its competence.
- 4) Any trader or manufacturer enrolled in the commercial registration shall have the right to affiliate with any chamber within the sphere wherein his headquarters are located. He may affiliate with more than one Chamber of Commerce if he has other branches. Also, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry maintains close contacts with other Saudi Chambers and other Chambers around the world.

As a result of the above factors, the guild system in Jeddah is gradually coming to an end and something much more than an outward expression of socio-economic solidarity is being lost. However, there are some guilds who retain their names as guilds, but the actual authority of their *shauykh* is an honorary post before the municipality. They are the hair-cutters guild, tailors guild, brokers (auctioneers)

guild, cook's guild, jewellers guild and bakers guild.

To sum up, commercial organisations practised the traditional retailing pattern which was based on a set of Islamic codes of transactions, and according to these codes the guild organisations and their code of ethics and values were formed.

However, changing the traditional retailing pattern into a modern retailing one which is based purely on modern economic theories, resulted in a dissolution of the traditional guild organisation, and consequently the Islamic codes of transactions were replaced by the ethics and values of business.

The formation of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which is considered the equivalent on the guild organisation, increased the influence of the modern retailing system to the social structure of the *aswaq* and commercial centre. Also, because the Chamber's members trading and manufacturing practices depend on the import-oriented economy which is based on the world business, the traditional socio-economic structure is lost and replaced by the modern phenomenon of the "businessman".

7.3 Lessons from the traditional *aswaq*:

Within the traditional city of Jeddah, traditional *aswaq* have been one of its major elements, accompanied by *Jam`i* mosques which formed its heart. The study found that the traditional *aswaq* were considered as functional and social gathering places which was a reflection of and gained from the local socio-cultural and economical traditions. These created a set of integrated relationships between each other, and were reflected in the layout of *aswaq*.

From the analytical study of the socio-cultural and economical aspects, and the layout relationships, the following three points have been identified; location, layout and management.

Location

The commercial activities of *aswaq* located in the centre of the city, developed according to their relation to other key urban elements such as *Jami* mosque, trade routes and ports, and city gates. Their central location accompanied by their proximity to *Jami* mosque and other cultural institutions such as schools, public baths, and

administrative buildings, confirmed the unity of the society as one *umah*.

Not only did this location preserve the unity of society at all social levels (the single family, the extended family, and the neighbourhood) but it also increased the social interaction, where people's interpersonal behaviour was in direct proportion to the size and range of the cultural institutions of the *suq* and in inverse proportion to the intervening distance between these and the residential areas.

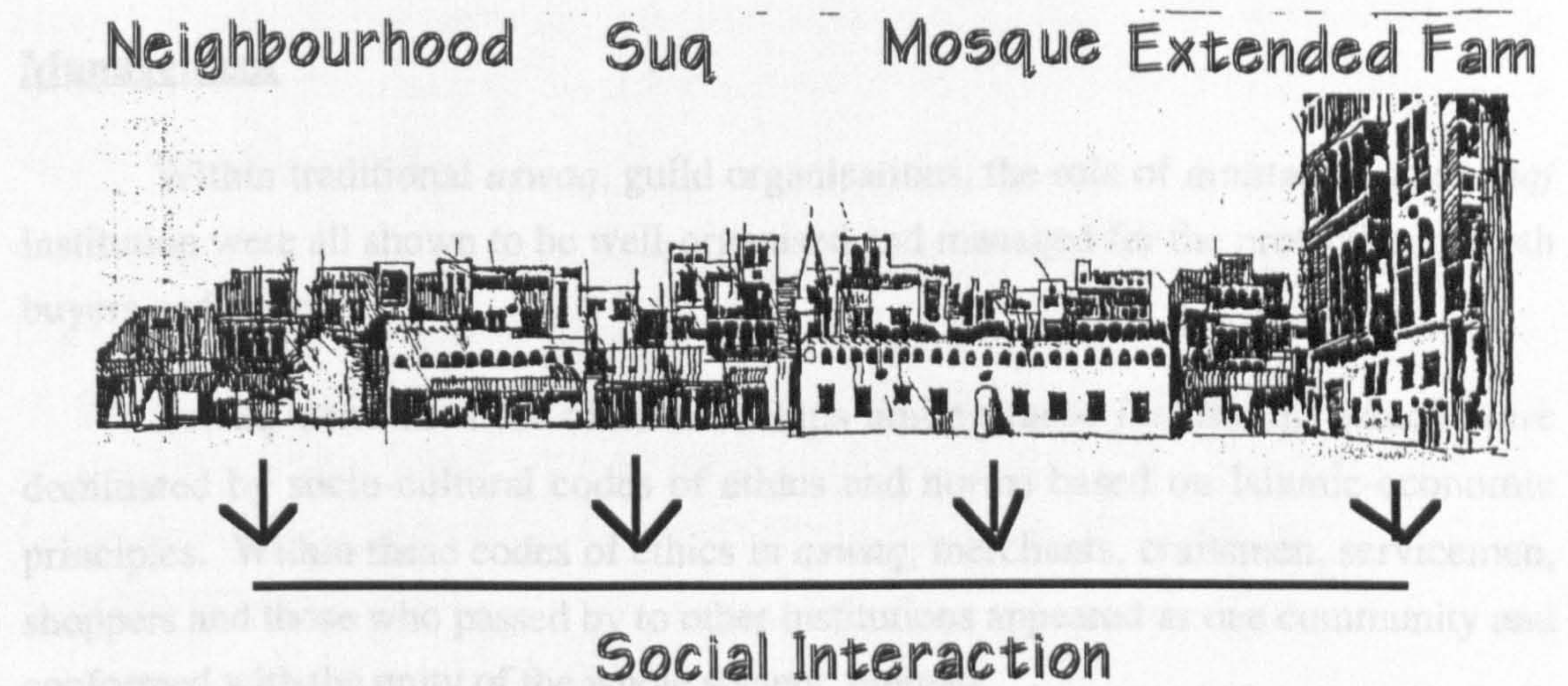


Fig 7.10 The integration of the traditional built environment conformed to the traditional society

Layout

Aswaq layout followed three concepts: the concept of urban magnetic elements such as Jami mosque, port, trade routes and the city gates, the concept of the dependence of each trade on the others, and the concept of avoiding harm. Accordingly, similar trades and crafts were grouped in special lanes, some of them near the mosque like those of booksellers and perfume sellers, and others near the city gates like those of the blacksmiths and dyers.

This spatial organisation of different groupings of trades and crafts is considered one of the *aswaq* features that today's economical theories vindicate: "clustered similar stores will do more business than widely scattered ones".

7.4 Further Studies

Also, the organisation led to the kaleidoscope of sight, sounds and smells which guided shoppers to what they wanted to buy. It was a kind of retailing that did not need complicated means of communication, dependent rather upon the richness and

variety of senses it displayed.

Physically, these concepts were also reflected in the street patterns and buildings. There were in hierarchical spatial sequences, the main streets of *aswaq* were wide while specialised lanes were narrower, and sometimes were cul-de-sacs. Street patterns were based on the amount and type of commercial activity which took place in them. Some streets needed to be covered to protect shoppers and merchandise, while others did not, where some particular trade and craft needed more ventilation and light.

Management

Within traditional *aswaq*, guild organisations, the role of *muḥtastib*, and *waqf* institution were all shown to be well-organised and managed for the protection of both buyers and sellers.

Aswaq denoted a set of relationships among these institutions which were dominated by socio-cultural codes of ethics and norms based on Islamic-economic principles. Within these codes of ethics in *aswaq*, merchants, craftsmen, servicemen, shoppers and those who passed by to other institutions appeared as one community and conformed with the unity of the whole society: ummah.

The combination of various socio-cultural institutions controlled the quality of products and goods, the commercial transactions within the framework of Islamic codes were applied, and the unity by being one community was ensured.

To sum up, the traditional *aswaq* emerged from the integration of social, religious, cultural and economical aspects, which are reflected in their physical layout. This does not mean that the traditional *aswaq* were perfect or a suitable model to be followed in the present time, but rather, they are examples of how shopping and commercial activities, and the principles of society can be reflected in their built environment. Also, they are shown by analysis as a good basis for any comparative study of the modern shopping centre in the Saudi Arabian society.

7.4 Further Studies

The study has reached a broad view and understanding of the traditional *aswaq*. It includes the details of the socio-cultural aspects which played a very important role in forming and shaping them. These aspects are, as this thesis demonstrates, social,

cultural, economic and political. The investigation, also, showed how each aspect relates to each other, and how are they reflected in the physical layout of *aswaq*.

Based on this, the thesis calls for awareness of the affect of the socio-cultural aspects on the commercial areas in Saudi Arabian cities in particular, and in the Islamic cities in general. This is because misunderstanding these aspects might lead to inaccurate evaluation and examination of the contemporary commercial areas. Therefore, in order to examine the suitability of either the layout of the modern shopping centre to the prevailing lifestyle, cultural values and norms within Jeddah as an example of a Muslim city, the traditional *aswaq* of old Jeddah could be referred to as a good basis for a comparative study.

There is a need for further studies on demographic and social changes occurring over the last three decades which lead to a great impact on *aswaq*, weakening their shopping activities. Many families moved to suburbs and the average household had dropped to a single family creating more neighbourhoods around the city of Jeddah. Consequently, the demand for the non-central shopping activities increased, and new shopping centres emerged.

Furthermore, it is important to make a detailed study of the different social and communal institutions; *jam`i* mosques, mosques, endowments, hotels, community centres, banks, and so on, within the urban context, which demanded the growth of the city and contributed to weakening the role of *aswaq* in the society.

Finally, there is a need for further detailed study of the existing physical structure of the traditional *aswaq*. Many of the unused buildings could be rehabilitated and with minor modification, they could be reused for other purposes. The hub of the *aswaq*, the shopping streets and alleys, and the shops need to be renovated to attract many shoppers as well as merchants. It is also necessary to exclude all non conforming uses which are not compatible with the activity of buying and selling. The grouping of shops of the same trades and crafts should be maintained as a positive marketing tool. Modern means of safety , health, and communications should be provided in all *aswaq* elements.

Institutions who are no longer functioning in the way they were, could be renovated and modified to fit other purposes. For example, khans could be reused as hotels to accommodate traders, or as storage places, or to accommodate certain light crafts that are still produced in the *aswaq* , or banks, or offices for associated activities,

and so on.

Regarding transportation and parking, there are a number of studies needed where the physical solutions are limited options. The possibility of utilising the nearby multi-storey parking, or nearby vacant lots, and so on, could contribute to the traffic and parking problem. Also, providing loading and unloading zones to the *aswaq* will help to reduce the traffic congestion.

All of these studies, however, should have the common aims of using the lessons inherent in the functioning of the traditional *aswaq* to not only maintain, and in many cases improve, their continuing functions and their physical appearance; but also to re-evaluate the impact of new commercial and shopping developments on Jeddah society and culture, and incorporate some of the traditional *aswaq* values into their location, layout and management.

APPENDIX A

JEDDAH URBAN TRANSFORMATION

APPENDIX A :

JEDDAH URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Historically, Jeddah grew and developed within the city wall which was built by Persians and rebuilt by the Mamluk Sultan Qansuah Al-Ghury in 1511, within an average area of 0.81 square kilometre. In 1947, the city wall was demolished, and Jeddah witnessed a rapid process of urban transformation. Two years after the demolition of the city wall, Jeddah expanded in an unplanned urbanisation growth in suburbs abutting the traditional city: Al-Baghdadiyah, Al-`Amariah, Al-Kandarah and scattered settlements along the two roads to Makkah and Al-Madinah.

These suburbs were heavily populated by settlers from the surrounding regions (Bokhari, 1978, pp. 277-278).

In the 1960s the first master plan of Jeddah was made by the Town Planning Section of the Ministry of the Interior with advice from UNTAO Town Planning (Makhlouf, 1963, VI, p.111). The main goal of the master plan was to accelerate the process of transformation and to change the city into a modern metropolis. Its concept was based totally on the motor vehicle which required a complete transformation of the city.

The plan also introduced the grid pattern as the basic planning concept for the residential neighbourhood. The plan proposed certain major streets through the traditional part of the city. A street was laid from the north to the south, which

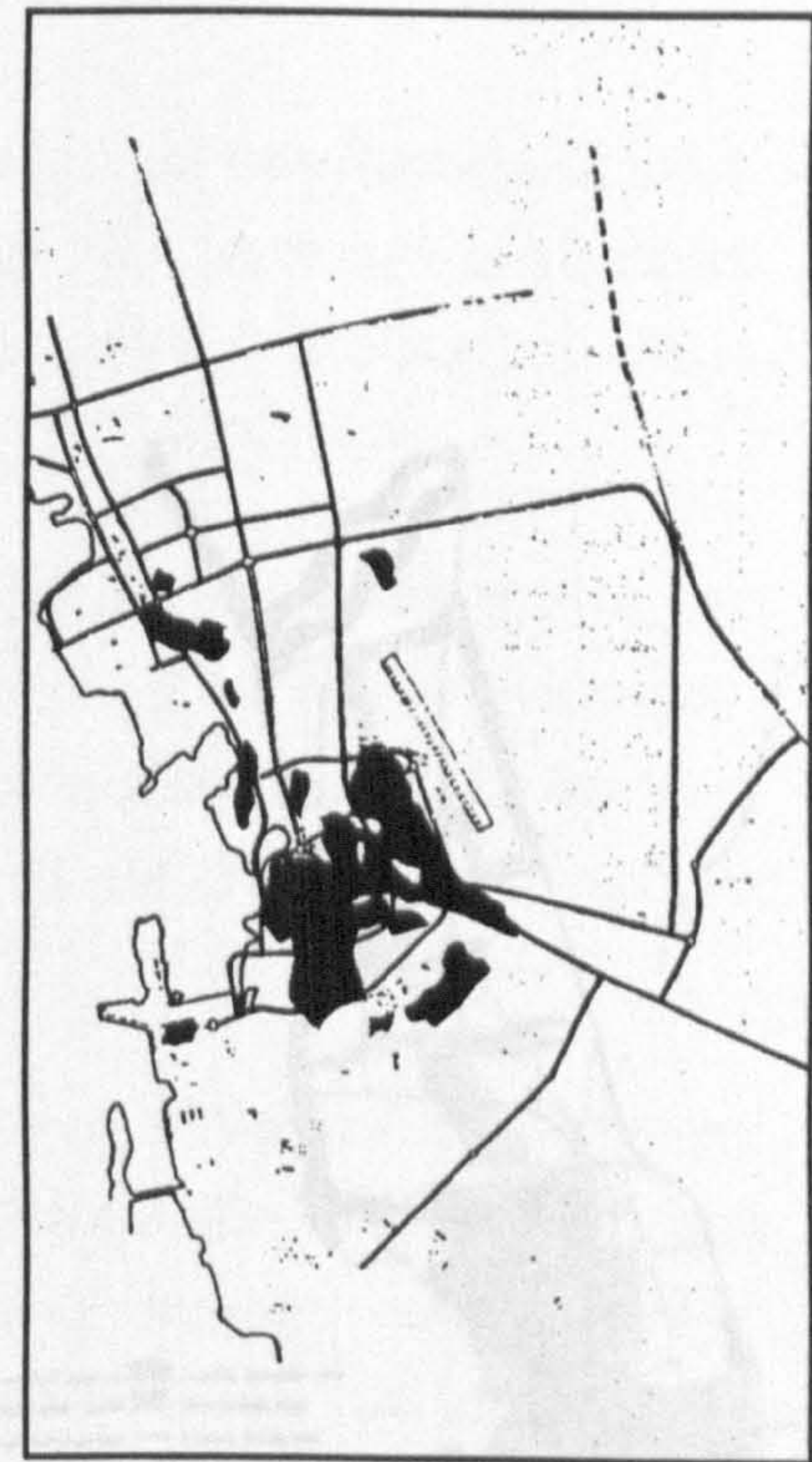


Fig. 1 Urban growth after the wall demolition

was called King Faysal Street. Another one, called Al Jadid Street, runs from west to east (fig. 2).

In the 1970s another master plan was done by Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall and Partners (RMJM & P), (1971-1977) which followed the same concept as the previous one, and was later revised by Sert-Jackson International/Saudi (SJI), (1977-1981) (fig. 3).



Fig 2 The first master plan of Jeddah by the Town Planning Section in the 60's (Makhlouf, vol. IV, p.36)

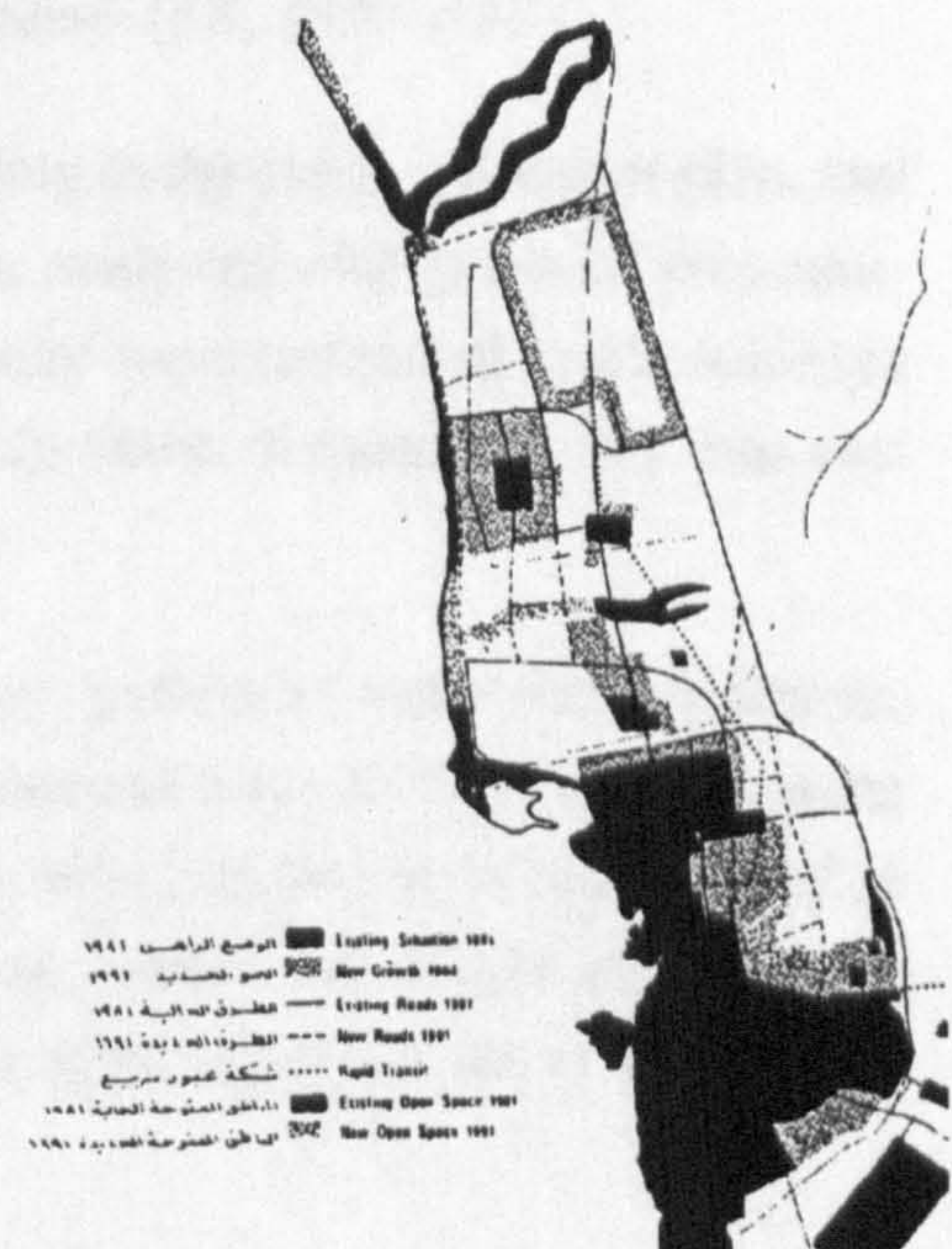


Fig.3 SJI's revised master plan of Jeddah, (Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah Old and New)

The two consultants emphasised the main skeleton of the city by the street network which formed its shape and its future pattern of growth. The network of street patterns divided the city into sectors for residential use, with an average size of population. Each residential sector has its own centrally located services, and

are designed in an hierarchical order; residential unit, neighbourhood unit and district unit.

For the residential unit, which accommodates a population of about 2,500 people, the service area consists of a mosque opened to a public paved area. Four residential units form a neighbourhood unit which accommodates a population of 10,000 people. Its service area comprises a Friday mosque opened to a public paved area, a garden, and public services like local shops, primary schools, police station, post and telephone offices, and dispensary.

Lastly, the district unit which comprises three to six neighbourhood units. The proposed population is 30,000 to 60,000 people. The services for it consists of a Friday mosque, a commercial centre with car parking, fire station, clinic, sport facilities, intermediate and secondary schools (SJI, 1980, p.47).

Therefore, Jeddah grew rapidly according to the proposed master plan, and was covered by networks of streets, highways, roads and other types of vehicular-oriented services. The northern parts of the city were connected to the southern parts by wide streets and roads (approximately 60m), dividing the city into east and west.

The commercial activities followed the pattern of vehicular movement, which resulted in a scattered pattern of commercial areas all over the city along the main street and major connections. The layout of the city centre started to follow the straight lines of the grid pattern, where the major streets were transformed into commercial streets as a result of the excessive use of vehicles.

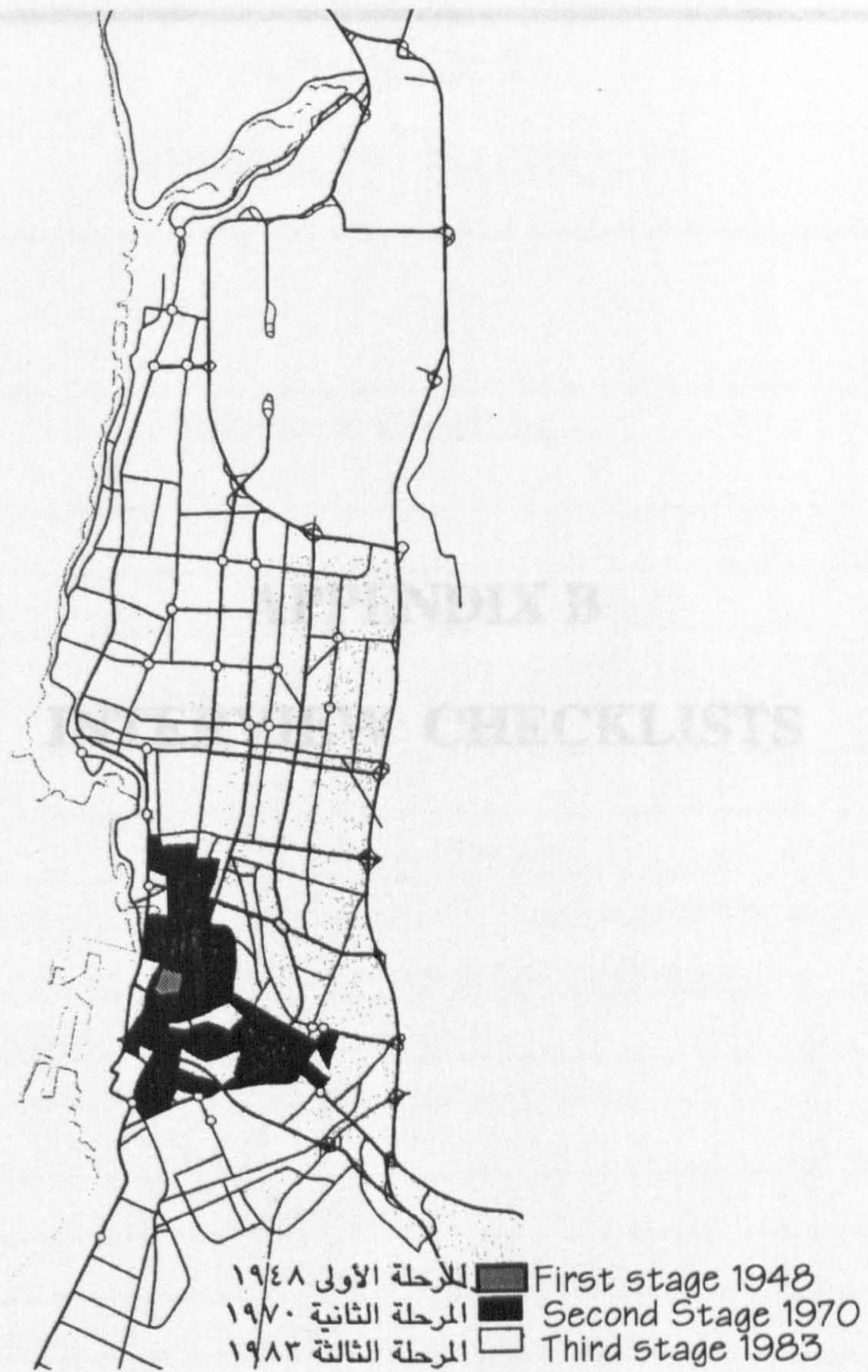


Fig. 4 The growth stages of Jeddah (Al-Farsi, M., 1983, p.25).

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW CHECKLISTS

APPENDIX B :

INTERVIEW CHECKLISTS

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	1
Name	Mr. Abdulaziz Al-Dahlay
Address	Municipality of Jeddah; Old Jeddah Department
Telephone No	(02) 647 4322
Dates of interviews	5 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Locations of the heads of different guilds and trades, and <i>aswaq</i> supervision
Time when available	7 - 8:30 pm
Sections of questionnaire covered	Supervision and layout
Tape Used	1 (A&B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	He is the manager of <i>Aswaq</i> Supervision Department for the last forty years
Re interview	/
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Heads of the different guilds , layout and Supervision

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	2
Name	<i>Shaykh</i> Salam Baqys
Address	<i>Suq</i> Al-Badu
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	8 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Trade process, grain guild, and the layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	7 - 8:30 pm
Sections of questionnaire covered	Trade process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the grain guild.
Tape Used	2 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	Imam of <i>suq</i> 's mosque, and <i>shaykh</i> of the <i>suq</i> Al-Badu
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	
Summary	Internal organisation, and physical layout of <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	3
Name	<i>Shaykh</i> Ali Azuz
Address	<i>Suq</i> Al-Dhahb (gold market)
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	10 /10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Trade process, guild ranks, and layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	10: 30 - 12 am
Sections of questionnaire covered	Trade and production process, goldsmith guild, and relationships of the different parties within the gold guild.
Tape Used	3 (A &B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Nil
Documents/photos borrowed	/
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	Former head of goldsmith guild
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and the physical layout of <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	4
Name	<i>Shaykh</i> Hamid Atiyah
Address	Al-Handayah neighbourhood
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	12 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Carpentry craft, guild ranks, craft affair, and <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	7 - 8:30 pm
Sections of questionnaire covered	Production process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the carpentry guild.
Tape Used	4 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	The former head of the carpentry guild, and now he is the head of Al-Handayah neighbourhood
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and the physical layout of <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	5
Name	<i>Mu`allam</i> Matuq Abdulaty
Address	Al-Balad neighbourhood
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	14 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Building process, guild ranks, and layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	10:30 - 12 am
Sections of questionnaire covered	Production process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the builders guild.
Tape Used	5 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	Mu`allam (builder master) for more than forty years
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and physical layout of the <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	6
Name	<i>Shaykh</i> Ali Sayd Ashore
Address	<i>Suq</i> Al-Hardj
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	15 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Brokerage service, guild ranks, and <i>aswaq</i> layout
Time when available	7 - 8:30 pm
Sections of questionnaire covered	Service process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the brokerage guild.
Tape Used	6 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	The current head of the brokerage guild
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and <i>aswaq</i> layout

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	7
Name	<i>Shaykh</i> Bakrr Muhammed Bakrr
Address	Al-Mudhalum neighbourhood
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	19 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Catering craft, guild ranks, and the layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	9 - 10:30
Sections of questionnaire covered	Production process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the catering guild.
Tape Used	7 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	The current head of the catering guild
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and physical layout of <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	8
Name	Merchant Abdulqadyr Al-Basha
Address	Al-Mudhlum neighbourhood
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	21 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Trade process, guild ranks, and the layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Time when available	9 - 10:30 pm
Sections of questionnaire covered	Trade process, guild rank, relationships of the different parties within the second hand items guild.
Tape Used	8 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	Second items merchant for last 30 years
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Internal organisation, and the physical layout of <i>aswaq</i>

Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	9
Name	Mr. Hasan Nasyr
Address	Chamber of Commerce and Industry
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	25 / 10/ 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	Chamber of Commerce
Time when available	11:30 - 12:30 am
Sections of questionnaire covered	Transformation of the traditional guilds, and formation of the Chamber of Commerce
Tape Used	9 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Many
Copies taken	Many
Documents/photos returned	Three weeks latter
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	He was my teacher in the high school
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Chamber of Commerce and Industry

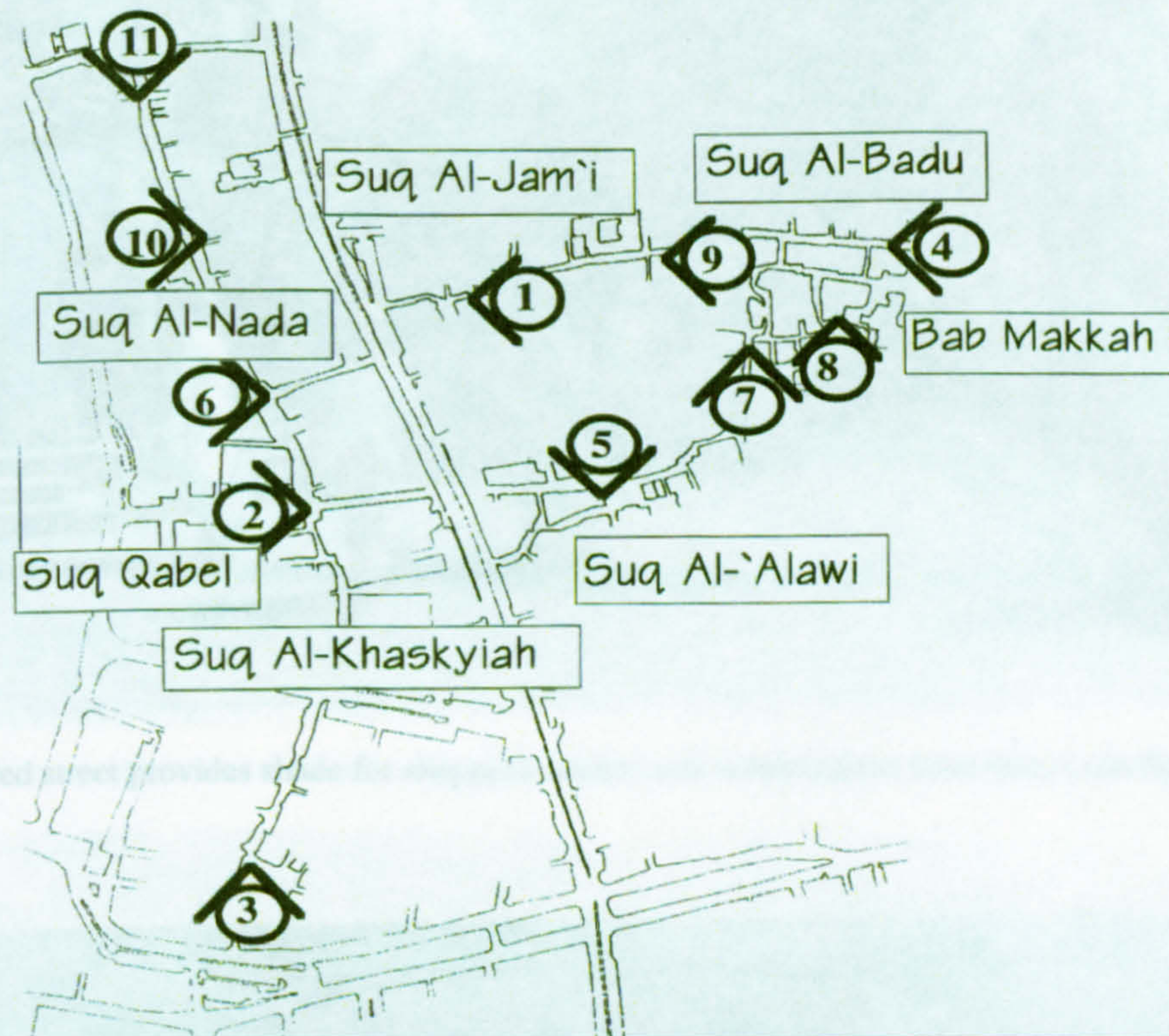
Interview Checklist	
Interview No.	10
Name	Mr. Abdulrahman Nasyf
Address	<i>Sug</i> Al-Alawi
Telephone No	/
Dates of interviews	28 / 10 / 92
Interviewers	Khalid Al-Burag
Future involvement	A resident of <i>sug</i> Al-Alawi
Time when available	11 - 12:30
Sections of questionnaire covered	Lifestyle, norms and habits, and layout of <i>aswaq</i>
Tape Used	10 (A & B)
Transcription	Complete transcription
Copyright obtained	Yes
Documents/photos borrowed	Nil
Copies taken	/
Documents/photos returned	/
Thank you letter	Orally
Comments	Interested in traditional architecture, and knows about Islamic laws.
Re interview	Yes
Other arrangements	/
Summary	Residents of <i>aswaq</i> , and layout of <i>aswaq</i>

APPENDIX C

IMAGES FROM THE TRADITIONAL ASWAQ

APPENDIX C :

IMAGES FROM THE TRADITIONAL ASWAQ



(1) Uncovered street where buildings provide shade for shoppers and traders- suq Al-Jam'i



(2) Covered street provides shade for shoppers, traders and commodities from direct sun light- *suq* Qabel



(3) Colours, smells, and noises facilitate shoppers - *Suq* Al-Khaskiyah.



(4) A craftsman makes a seal rings, an example of crafts which take place in *aswaq* - Bab Makkah



(5) An arbitrage sells certain goods, an example of non-fixed place trades - *Suq Al-'Alawi*.



(6) *Aswaq* ' participants are merchants, craftsmen, brokers, servicemen, and shoppers - *Suq Al-Nada*.



(7) Loading, unloading activities - *Suq Al-Jam'i*..



(8) *Aswaq'* streets narrow and widen according to the amount of trade and the traffic of shoppers and goods - *Suq Al-'Alawi*.



(9) Mosques are considered major elements of *aswaq*, and trades and crafts are allocated according to them - *Suq Al-Jam'i*.



(10) Khans and warehouses are opened to the main streets of *aswaq* - *Suq Al-Nada*.



(11) *Aswaq* accompanied with *jam'i* mosque as focal points of the Islamic city confirmed the unity of the society, where shoppers, tradesmen, and passers by meet, and social interaction increases - - *Suq Al-Nada*.

ARABIC GLOSSARY

ARABIC GLOSSARY

Single	Plural	Meaning
<i>`Ārif</i>	<i>`Arifā</i>	Expert
<i>`Asarr</i>		Afternoon
<i>al-muzara`ah</i>		Share-cropping
<i>Amīn</i>	<i>Aminā</i>	Secretary / expert
<i>Arasta</i>		Row of shops attached to the mosque.
<i>Bab</i>	<i>Abwab</i>	Gate / door
<i>Badu</i>		Bedouin
<i>Bai` al-Gharar.</i>		To sell fish in the river, or birds in the air.
<i>Bai` al-Muḍṭar</i>		To buy a thing forcibly
<i>Bai` al-`Uryan.</i>		The advance will be adjusted and if the bargain is cancelled the seller will not return the advance.
<i>Bai` al-Ḥasat</i>		Sale by means of pebbles). Throwing a pebble on goods, the sale contract will be confirmed
<i>Bai` `alā Bai`</i>		Sale over and above the sale of another
<i>Banjarrah</i>	<i>Banājirr</i>	Bracelet

<i>Banā</i>	<i>Banāūn</i>	Builder
<i>Bunt</i>		Port
<i>Bīt</i>	<i>Bīūt</i>	House/family
<i>Dakkān</i>	<i>Dakākīn</i>	Shop
<i>Dalāl</i>	<i>dalālīn</i>	Broker/auctioneer
<i>Dhab</i>		Gold
<i>Dhimmi</i>	<i>Dhimmūn</i>	Non-Muslim person
<i>Dirham</i>	<i>Darāhm</i>	The currency of that time.
<i>Fakahani</i>	<i>Fakahniyyah</i>	Fruit seller
<i>fakharani</i>	<i>Fakhraniyyah</i>	Potter
<i>Fard kifiyāh</i>		The obligations of sufficiency
<i>Fasaḥ</i>		Permission
<i>Fātar</i>		Cool/ no purchase
<i>Fatīḥah</i>		Opening chapter of the Qurān
<i>Ṭa'ifah'</i>	<i>Ṭwa'if</i>	Guild
<i>Ṭabākh</i>	<i>Ṭabākhūn</i>	Chef
<i>Ṭaḥān</i>	<i>Ṭaḥānūn</i>	Miller
<i>Ṭibākhah</i>		Catering

<i>Futuwwa</i>	<i>Futuawwāt</i>	A group of young men, bound together by an ethical and religious code of duties and an elaborate ceremony.
<i>Ghārim</i>	<i>Ghāirmīn</i>	Those in debt
<i>Ijmā`</i>		Consensus of the scholars
<i>Inṣaf</i>		Justice
<i>Istaftāḥ</i>		First selling
<i>Istikhlāff</i>		The vicegerency
<i>Istiḥsān</i>		Preference for the better
<i>Istiṣlah or maṣaliḥah</i>		Consideration of public interest
<i>Iḥsān</i>		Magnanimity
<i>Jadyd</i>		New
<i>Jazār</i>	<i>Jazārūn</i>	Butcher
<i>Jaūhirrjī</i>	<i>Jaūhirrjīah</i>	Jewellery merchant
<i>Jihād</i>		Holy war
<i>Khan</i>	<i>Khanāt</i>	A building used the traders to rest and their animals as well.
<i>Kharrāz</i>	<i>Kharāzūn</i>	Shoemaker
<i>Kylah</i>		A measurement used for grain

<i>Kūshān</i>		A turkish word means permission of practice
<i>Maīsrr</i>		Gambling, (literary means " getting something too easily)
<i>Mubtadi</i>		Apprentice
<i>Muṭabakh</i>	<i>Muṭābakh</i>	Kitchen
<i>Muṭūf</i>	<i>Muṭūfūn</i>	Pilgrimage guidelines
<i>Mughrib</i>		Sunset
<i>Muhrr</i>		Stamp
<i>Mulamasa</i>		A sale by touching the article without examining
<i>Munjarah</i>	<i>Munājrr</i>	Carpenter workshop
<i>Munābadha</i>		A sale that the seller should throw the article to the buyer before he has carefully examined it.
<i>Muqrū`</i>		Not allow
<i>Murkab</i>	<i>Murkabūn</i>	Assembly worker
<i>Murkāz</i>		High wooden sofa
<i>Mushtarī</i>	<i>Mushtarūn</i>	Buyers
<i>Mutasibib</i>	<i>Mutasibibūn</i>	Arbitrager or vendor
<i>Mutasūq</i>	<i>Mutasūqūn</i>	Shopper
<i>Muzabana.</i>		It is the exchange of fresh fruit for dry ones

<i>Mu`allam</i>		Master
<i>Mu`āūmah</i>		Selling the fruit on the trees for a period of one, two or three years
<i>Muḍlūm</i>		Persecuted
<i>Muḥtasib</i>	<i>Muḥtasibūn</i>	Market-inspector
<i>Myḍān</i>	<i>Myādīn</i>	Square
<i>Najash</i>		It signifies someone's bidding for an item in excess of its price without having any intention of actually buying it,
<i>Najār</i>	<i>Njārūn</i>	Carpenter
<i>Najārah</i>		Carpenter craft
<i>Naqabah</i>	<i>Naqabat'</i>	Guild
<i>Naqīb</i>	<i>Naqabā</i>	Vice-head/representitive
<i>Ḍarurah</i>		Necessity
<i>Ḍuha</i>		Late morning
<i>Ḍuhrr</i>		Mid-day
<i>Qahūah</i>	<i>Qahāūī</i>	Coffee-house/shop/inn
<i>Qurān</i>		Islamic Holy Book
<i>Qyās</i>		Analogical reasoning
<i>Qādi</i>	<i>Qadāt</i>	Judge

<i>Ramthān</i>	<i>Ramthānāt</i>	Fasting month (9th month in the Islamic Calendar)
<i>Ribā</i>		Usury
<i>Sanbūk</i>	<i>Sanābik</i>	Small boat
<i>Sharī`ah</i>	<i>Sharā`i</i>	Islamic legal law
<i>Shaykh</i>	<i>Mashayikh/shayūkh</i>	Head/master
<i>Shurṭah</i>	<i>Shurṭ</i>	Police
<i>Shāhy</i>		Tea
<i>Subahīi</i>	<i>Subahīah</i>	Bead seller and maker
<i>Sukkr</i>		Sugar
<i>Sunnah</i>	<i>Sunn</i>	The Prophet says and deeds
<i>Suq</i>	<i>Aswaq</i>	Market-place
<i>Sūām</i>	<i>Sūāmūn</i>	(lit. means to estimate the value of an object) a <i>suq'</i> participant who is bargaining to test the waters
<i>Taliqy al-Rikbān</i>		This means going out of town to buy merchandise which is on its way to the market.
<i>Tājarr</i>	<i>Tajārr</i>	Merchant
<i>Tājarr jumalah</i>		Wholesale merchant
<i>Tājarr mūfard</i>		Retail merchant

<i>Tājarr mūrd</i>		Import merchant
<i>ummah</i>		Society
<i>Wakālah</i>	<i>Wakālāt</i>	Khan
<i>wakyl</i>	<i>wukalā</i>	agents or representative
<i>Wzān</i>	<i>Wzānah</i>	A person who wieghs
<i>Wālī</i>	<i>Walāh</i>	Governor
<i>wasyt</i>	<i>Al-wusatā</i>	middleman
<i>Zakāt</i>		Alms giving
<i>Zinā</i>		Adultery
<i>Zāūīah</i>	<i>Zaūāīā</i>	Small corner mosque
<i>Ḥababah</i>		Grain merchant
<i>Ḥadīth</i>	<i>Aḥadīth</i>	Prophet' saying
<i>Ḥalal</i>		Lawful
<i>Ḥarām</i>		Prohibited
<i>Ḥirrfah</i>	<i>Ḥrraf</i>	Craft
<i>Ḥāmmal</i>	<i>Ḥammāl</i>	Porter
<i>Ḥānūt</i>	<i>Ḥūānīt</i>	Shop
<i>Ḥārah</i>	<i>Ḥārāt</i>	Neighbourhood
<i>Ḥāsib</i>		Be careful
<i>Ḥūsh</i>	<i>Aḥūāsh</i>	Warehouse/store
<i>Ṣadaqah</i>	<i>Ṣadaqāt</i>	Charity
<i>Ṣanf</i>	<i>Aṣnaf</i>	Guild

Ṣanif

Aṣnāf

Craft

Ṣā'gh

Ṣāghah

Goldsmith

Ṣān`i

Ṣnā`i

Journeyman

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu Trab, Abdulmajyyd, Asrar Al-Mihnn, ([Arabic] The Secrets of Crafts), Al-Jihad Press, Damscus, 1987
- Al- Farsy, Fouad, Saudi Arabia: A Case Study in Development, KPI, London, 1986.
- Al-Afghani, Sa` aeed, Aswaq Al`arb fi aljahaleeh wa alislam ([Arabic] Arab Markets in Pre- Islamic and Islamic Period), Damscus, 1960.
- Al-Ansari, A., "Muswa`at Tarikh Madinat Jeddah ", ([Arabic] Encyclopaedia of the History of the City of Jeddah), Jeddah, 1982
- Al-Azraqi, Akhbar Mecca, ([Arabic] Makkah), 1965.
- Al-Dahaluy, Abdulaziz, Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah, (October 1992).
- Al-Drywysh, Ahmed Yusef, Ahkam Al-Suq fi Al-Islam wa Ithraha fi Al-Iqtisad Al-Islamy ([Arabic] Suq Islamic Rules and their Influence in Islamic Economy), Dar `Alam, Riyadh, 1989.
- Al-Duri, Abdulaziz, Tareekh al-`Iraq al-Iqtisadi fi al-Qarn al-Rabi` `shr" ([Arabic] The Economic History of Iraq During the Tenth Century), Dar Al-Mushraq, Beriut, 1974
- Al-Gazzali, Ihya `Ulum Al-Din, ([Arabic] Reviving the Religion), trans. by Nabih Amin Faris, Lahore, Pakistan, 1966.
- Al-Hathloul, Salah, Tradition, Continuity, and Changes in the Physical Environment. The Arab-Muslim Cities, Unpublished PhD. thesis MIT Massachusetts, 1984.
- Al-ktani, Al-trateb Al-adareh, ([Arabic] Adminstrative Organisations in the Early Islamic Era), Dar Al-Kitab Al-`Araby, Beruit.
- Al-Maqrizi, Al-Mawa`iz wa al-I`tibar bi Dhikr al- Khitat wa al-Athar, ([Arabic] Maqrizi' Plans)2 vols., 'Dar Sadir Pess, Beirut.

Al-Mghrabi, Mohammed Ali, Malamih al-Haiat al-Hijaz, ([Arabic] Aspects of the Hedjaz Social Life), Tihamah, Jeddah, 1982.

Al-Mourdi, Ahkam Al-Hisbah, ([Arabic] Hisbah Rules), Cairo, 1973.

Al-Muabady, Mubark, Al-nashat Al-tjari Lemena Jeddah fi Al-nsf Al-thani mnn Al-qarrn 19th wa `ashr Sanwat mnn al-qarrn 20th ([Arabic] The Commercial Activities of Jeddah During the Second Half of the 19th Century and Early 20th Century), Unpublished Ph.D thesis, `Aen Shams University, Cairo, 1989.

Al-Qaradwi, Yusuf, Al-Halal wal Haram fil Islam (The Lawful and The Prohibited in Islam), trans. by El-hebawy, Siddiqi and Shukry, Hindustan Pub., Delhi, 1960

Allen, Barbara, and Lynwood Montell, From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research, The American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, 1981.

Aly`aqubi, Albaldân ([Arabic] Towans), Baghdad, 1962.

Antoniou, Jim, Islamic Cities and Conservation, The Unesco Press, Switzerland, 1981.

Ashtor, Eltyahu., A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages, William Collins & Co ltd., London, 1976.

Baer, G., Egyptain Guilds in Moder Times, Jerusalem, 1964.

Bechatel, Robert B., Methods in Enviromental and Behavioral Reasearch, New York, 1987.

Bell, Philip W., & Todaro, Micheal P., Economy Theory, Oxford University press, London, 1969.

Beviruol, Leonardo, The History of The City, trans. by Geofferry Culvewell, Scholar Press, London, 1980.

Blake, G.H., & Lawless, R. L., The Changing Middle Eastern City, London, 1980.

Bokhari, Abdualлах Yahia, Jeddah: A Study in Urban Formation, Unpublished Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1978.

Brown, Leon Carl (ed.), From Madina to Metropolis, The Drawin Press, New Jersey, 1973.

Buchan, James , Jeddah Old and New, Stacey International, London, 1980.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, Travels in Arabia, Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., Cambridge, 1829.

Burton, Sir Richard, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah & Mecca, (ed. by Isabel Burton), Dover Publications, INC., New York, 1964.

Castello, V.F., Urbanization in the Middle East, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977.

Cole, Donald P., " Bedouin and Social Change in Saudi Arabia", Arab Society: Social Sciences Perspective, ed. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1985.

Creswell, K.A.C., A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, Lebanon Bookshop, Beirut, 1968.

Davies, Merryl Wyn, Knowing One Another Shaping an Islamic Anthropology, Mansell Publishing Ltd., London, 1988.

Duncan, J. Delbert and Philips Charles F., Retailing principles and methods, Irwin, Illionis, 1963 .

El Mallakh, Ragaei, (), Saudi Arabia Rush to Development, Croom Helm, London, 1982.

El-Wakil, Abdul Wahid, " Identity, Tradition and Architecture ", Arab Architecture Past and Present, ed. Antony Hutt. Centre of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Durham, 1984.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, (1st edn), leiden, 1913-42; 2nd edn, Leiden, London, 1960.

Farsi, Mohammed Said, Jeddah: A Changing Eco-System, Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah, 1982.

Farsi, Mohammed Said, Tatwr al-Nasij al-`Imrani fi Madinat Jeddah ([Arabic] The Development of the Architectural Fabric of Jeddah), Dar al-Asfahany Printing Press, Jeddah, 1983.

Farsi, Zaki, Jeddah A-Z, Farsi Office, Jeddah, 1989.

Faruki, Kamal A., Islamic Jurisprudence, Din Muhammadi Press, Karachi, 1962.

Fisher, H. A. L., A History of Europe, V I , Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1949.

Fletcher, sir Banister, A history of Architecture, Athlone press, London, 1963.

Furnham, Adrian, and Bochner, Stephen, Culture Shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments, Methuen, London, 1986.

Geist, Johann Friedrich, Arcades , Massachusetts, 1983.

Gilsman, Micheal, Recognizing Islam, Pantheon, New York, 1982.

Greetz, Clifford and Hill, & Rosen, Lawrence, Meaning and Order in Moroccan Societ, Massachusetts, 1979.

Gustave, E.Von Grunebaum, Islam and Medieval Hellenism: social and cultural perspectives, Variorum Reprints, London, 1976.

Hakim, Basim selim, Arabic-Islamic Cities, KPI, London, 1986.

Hamor, `Urfan Mohomed, Aswaq Al`arab : `rd âdaby târyikhy li alaswaq almwsmeâh `and al`arab, ([Arabic] Arab suqs: history and literature exhibition of the Arab annual suqs), Dar Ash-Shwrâ, Beirut, 1979 .

Hassan, Riaz , " The Islamic City ", Ekistic, Jan. 1971.

Hayes, Johan R. (ed.), The Genius of Arab Civilisation Source of Renaissance, 1975

Hershlag, Z. Y., Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East, E. J. Brill, Netherlands, 1964

Hillenbrand, Robert, Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1994.

Hogarth, David, Hejaz Before World War I, Falcon-Orleander, New York, 1978.

- Hoinville, Gerald, & Jowell, Roger, Survey Research Practice, England, 1989.
- Howell, David, City of the Red Sea, Scorpion Publishing Ltd, Essex, England, 1985.
- Hurgronje, Snouck C., Makkah in the Latter Part of the 19th Century, trans. by J. H. Monahan, Luzac and Co., London, 1931.
- Ibish, Yusuf, 'Economic Institution', ed. by Serjeant, The Islamic City, Paris, 1976.
- Ibn Al-Kalbi, Kitab Al-Asnam, ([Arabic] Idols), Princeton, University Press, 1957.
- Ibn Al-Mujwar, Tarikh Al-Mustabsir, ([Arabic] History), Leiden, Brill, 1954.
- Ibn Batutah, Rihat ibn Batutah ([Arabic] Ibn Batuta Travels), Al-Istaqamah, Cario, 1967.
- Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. by Franz Rosenthal, Routledge and Kegan Pual Ltd, London, 1967.
- Ibrahim, Saed, The New Arab Social Order: A Study of the Social Impact of Oil Wealth, Westview press, London, 1982.
- Ibrahim, Hazim (ed.), Al-Ma`aiyyr al-Takhtyiyah li al-Khadamat al-Tidjaryah ([Arabic] Planning Standards for Commercial Services), Ministry of Muncipal and Rural Affairs, Riyadh, 1980.
- Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, & Hopkins, Nicols, Arab Society: Socia: Sciencse Perspective, The American University Press, Cario, 1985.
- Immam Al-Bukhari, Sahih Al-Bukhari, (Prophet' says), trans. by Muhammed Muhsin Khan, Vol. 3, Al-Maktabat Al-Salafiah, Al- Madinah, Saudi Arabi
- Immam Malik, Al - Muwatta, (Prophet' says), trans. by `Aish at-Tarjuman & Ya`qub Johnson, edit. by Idris Mears, University Press, Cambridge, 1982.
- Immam Muslim, Sahih Muslim, (Prophet' sayings), trans. by Abdul Hamid Siddiqi,, Vol 2 &3 , Dar Al -`arabia, Beriut
- Ismail, Adel A., origin: Ideology and physical patterns of Arab Urbanization, Faculty of Architecture, University of Karlsruhe, 1969.

Jacobs, Jane, The Economy of Cities, Vintage Books, New York, 1970.

Jeddah Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Jeddah Today, Jeddah Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Jeddah, 1992.

Jom`ah, Hisham, The Traditional Process of Producing a House in Arabia During the 18th and 19th Centuries: A Case of Hedjaz, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, Edinburgh, 1992.

Kaynak Erdener, International Businesss in the Middle East, Walter de Gmyter, New York, 1986

Khalil, Ahmed A.; Muslim Cities as a Pattern of Relationships: House-Mosque Relationship, Unpublished Ph.D, Edinburgh University , Edinburgh, 1994.

Lapidus, Ira M., A History of Islamic Societies, Cabridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988.

Lapidus, Ira M., Middle Eastern Cities, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986.

Lapidus, Ira M., Muslim cities in the later Middle ages, CambridgeUniversity Press, Cambridge, 1973.

Latham, Anthony John, The Market in history, (ed. Anderson B.L.), Croom Helm, London, 1984.

Lawrence, T.E , Seven Pillars of Wisdom, London, 1956.

Leedy, Pual D, Practical Research Planning and design, London, 1989.

Lewis, Bernard (ed.), (1976.), The World of Islam, London.

Lewis, Bernard, The Arab in History: Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East, ed. by Heshlag, Leiden, 1950.

Lewis, Bernard, The Islamic Guilds, in " Economic History Review ", V.8, Nov., 1937.

Looney, Robert E., Saudi Arabia's Development Potential, D. C. Heath Company, Toronto, 1982.

- Lyunch, Kevin, A Theory of Good City, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1981.
- Lyunch, Kevin, The Image of the City, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1979.
- Makhluwf, Abdulrahman, al--Tatur al-`Umrani li Madinat Jeddah min 1378- 1383 H (1959-1963) (Urban Development of Jeddah from 1378 to 1383 H / 1959-1963 A.D), 4 vols., The Municipality of Jeddah, Jeddah.
- Maurice Lombard, The Golden Age Of Islam, trans. by Joan Spencer, North Hollan Company ltd, Oxford, 1975.
- Michell, George, Architecture of the Islamic World, Thames and Hudson, London, 1987.
- Milburn, William, Oriental Commerce, London, 1825.
- Mones, Hussain, Atlas of the History of Islam, Al-Zahraa Arab Mass Media, Cario, 1987.
- Morris, A.E.J., History of Urban Form, Longman Scientific & Technical, New York, 1994.
- Morris, Silver, Economic Structure of the Ancient Near East, Croom Helm, London, 1985
- Mr. Nasyf, Abdulrahman, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.
- Mumford, Lewis, The City in History, Harvest/HBJ Publications, New York, 1961.
- Mumford, Lewis, The Culture of Cities, Harvest/HBJ Publications, New York, 1970.
- Mundurah, Khalid, & Basqr, `Othman, (1989), Ghrafah Heddah Qusah wa Tarykh, ([Arabic] The Chamber of Jeddah : Story and History), Dar Al-Asfahany, Jeddah.
- Mu`allam Abdulqadyr Al-Basha, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.
- Mu`allam Matuq Abdulaty, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.
- Nasr Seyyed, Hossien, Traditional Islam in the Modern World, KPI, London, 1986.

- Nasyr, Hasan., Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah, (October 1992).
- Nicolas, P Aghnides, Mohammedan Theories of Finance, Columbia, New York, 1916.
- Pacha, Ibrahim Raf'at, Murrat Al- Harrmen ([Arabic] Mirror of the Tow Holy Mosques), 2 Vols., Dar Al-Kitab Al-'Araby, Beirut, 1908.
- Pearson, Michael Parker, & Richards, Colin (ed.), Architecture and Order, Routledge, London, 1994.
- Pesce, Angelo, Jiddah portrait of an Arabian city, Falcon press, Italy, 1976.
- Philby, Johan H., A Pilgrimage in Arabia, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1946.
- Pickthall, M. M., The meaning of the Glorious Qur'an: An Explanatory Translation, 1930.
- Rapoport, Amos, Human Aspects of Urban Form : Towards a Man-Enviroment Approach to Urban Form and Design, Pergamon Press Ltd., Oxford, 1977.
- Rapoport, Amos The Meaning of the Built Environment : a Non-verbal Communication Approach, Sage, Beverley Hills, 1982.
- Raymond, Andre, The Great Arab Cities in the 16th.18th century an Introduction, New York: New York University, 1984.
- Repp, Richard, " *Qanun* and *sheri`ah* in the Ottoman ", Islamic Law social and historical contexts, Ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh, Mackey of Catham ltd., Kent, 1988.
- Research Centre, Jeddah Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Al-Murakz Al-Tijaryah bi Jeddah ([Arabic] Jeddah Shopping Centres), Al-'Abykan Co., Riyadh, 1987.
- Richard, D.S.(ed.), Islam and the Trade of Asia, London, 1970.
- Rodinson, Maxime Perarce, Islam and Capitalism, trans. by Brian Pearce, Allen Lane, London, 1974.
- Rostovtzeff, M., Caravan Cities, trans. by Talbot Rice, Oxford University Press, London, 1932.

Salagoor, Jamaludden, Arab Suqs:Changes and Continuity of the Organisation, Function and Characteristics, with a case of development in the suq area at Al-Hofuf, Saudi Arabia, (unpublished Master thesis), University of Arizona, 1984.

Sayed Kotab, Social Justice in Islam, trans. by John B. Hardie, Washington, 1953.

Serjeant, R. B. (ed.), The Islamic City, Unesco, France, 1980.

Serjeant, R. B. and Lewcock, Ronald (ed.), San`a an Arabian Islamic City, London, 1983.

Shaykh Ali Azuz, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.

Shaykh Ali Sayd Ashur, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.

Shaykh Bakrr Muhammed Bakrr, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.

Shaykh Hamid Atyih, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.

Shaykh Salam Baqyis, (October 1992), Tape-Recorded/Pen-and-notebook formal interviews, Jeddah.

Siddiqi, Muhammed, " Islamizing Economics", Toward Islamization of Disciplines, The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1989.

SJI, Existing Condition 1399 H. (1979), Tecchnical Report No 5, Deputy Ministry for Town Planning, Jeddah, 1979.

SJI, Revision and Upadating of the Existing Master Plan, Tecchnical Report No 9, Deputy Ministry for Town Planning, Jeddah, 1980.

Stewart, Murray (ed.), The City : Problems of Planning, Penguin Education, Middlesex, 1974.

The Arabian Publishing house for Encyclopaedia, Jeddah the Bride of the Red sea, progress and development,

The Islamic Computing Centre, Al-Hadith Database, (Full text [English trans.] Sahih Al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Al-Muwatta, Abu Dawud, and Mishkat Al-Masabih), London, 1991.

The Islamic Computing Centre, Al-Quran Database, trans. Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Muhammed M. Pickthal, London, 1991.

The Islamic Computing Centre, Islamic Law Database, English trans.of the Islamic Law Books, London, 1991.

Topham, John , Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia, Stacey International, London, 1982.

Troller, Gray, The Birth of Saudi Arabia, Frank Cass, London, 1976.

Turner, Ralph H., Family Interaction, JohnWiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1970.

Udovitch, A. L. (ed.), The Islamic Middle East. 700 - 1900: studies in economic and social history, Darwin Press, Princeton N.J., 1981.

Wagner, Philip, Environments and People, Prentice-Hall Int., London, 1972.

Wagstaff, J.M., " The Origin and Evolution of Towns : 4000 B.C. to 1900 A.D. ", in The Chaning Middle Eastern City, ed. by Blake, G., & Lawless, R., Croom Helm, London, 1980.

Wahbi & Mokhless Al-Hariri Rifai, The Heritage of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1990.

Wells, Alan, Social Institutions, Heinemann, London, 1970.

Wilson, R., The Economies of the Middle East, Macmillan Company ltd., London, 1974

Yahya Ibn `Umar, Ahkam Al-Suq, ([Arabic] The Islamic Rules of theSuq), ed. Makki M, Tunisian Company for Pubilication, Tunisia, 1975

Zeisel, John, Inquiry by Design, California, 1981.